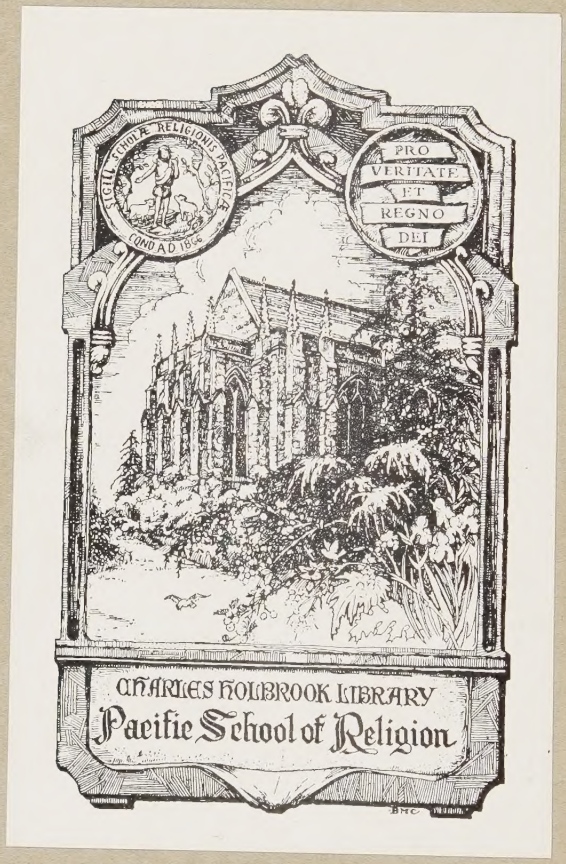
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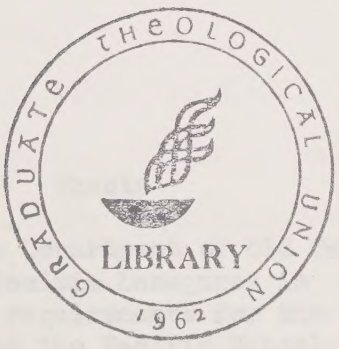

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The Locale of the Prophet Ezekiel

by

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B. A. University of New Zealand - - - - - - - - 1921
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Abbreviations

J. B. L.	Journal of Biblical Literature
A. J. S. L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages
H. T. R.	Harvard Theological Review
K. H. A. T.	Kurtzer Handbuch zum Alten Testament
H. A. T.	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
Z. A. T. W.	Zeitschrift fur Alttestament-liche Wissenschaft.
H. U. C. A.	Hebrew Union College Annual
I. C. C.	International Critical Commentary
O. T.	Old Testament

Part I

A Critical Account of Recent Studies in the Book of Ezekiel

Chapter I

Ezekiel, Prophet Among the Babylonian Exiles

"No critical question arises in connection with the authorship of the book, the whole from beginning to end bearing unmistakably the stamp of a single mind."[1] So Driver wrote of the Book of Ezekiel in 1891. The statement remains unchanged even in the 1913 edition of his book and its subsequent reprints to 1931. Yet today all is changed. The authorship of the book is questioned, its unity is denied and many and varied are the explanations of the difficulties that an intensive study of this book of prophecy has brought to the fore. Before we attempt to show the course of recent criticism in regard to the Book of Ezekiel, we ought to note the earlier rejections of its authenticity, and also to ascertain the Jewish tradition in regard to it.

Modern Biblical criticism of Ezekiel dates from 1756 when George Ludwig Oeder,[2] gave expression to his doubts concerning both the homogeneity and authenticity of our present book of Ezekiel. His ideas were not published until 1771 and then posthumously. He maintained that because the ideas of Chapters 40-48 had never been put into practice and because they contain many insoluble riddles, therefore these chapters were spurious. Mentioning the fact that Josephus had spoken of two books of Ezekiel, he would assert that originally 1-39 and 40-48

1. S.R. Driver Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. New York 1931 (New Edition revised 1913).
2. Freye Untersuchung über einige Bücher des Alten Testaments, von dem Verfasser der Christlich freyen Untersuchung über die sogenannte Offenbarung Johannis, mit Lutaten und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Georg Johann Ludvig Vogel, Halle, 1771

had been two separate books. He regards 1-39 as the genuine and original Ezekiel to which the other spurious Ezekiel has been added.

Vogel, editor and publisher of Oeder's work, added a suggestion that the second Ezekiel was produced under Samaritan influence. The purpose was to induce the Jews to build a new temple according to the instructions of Ezekiel in a place other than Jerusalem. Corrodi[1] published at Halle in 1792 a defense of Oeder's position. He added his own contribution in an assertion of the lateness of the Gog and Magog passage 38-39. In 1798 an anonymous contributor to the Monthly Magazine and British Register[2] drew attention to the fact that the graceful poetry of the book is embedded in much poor prose. This the contributor maintained points to a dual authorship of the present book of Ezekiel.

In 1832 Zunz[3] declared the book as a whole was not authentic: basing his denial on its predictions, its literary and historical references, its legislation, and its late Hebrew. Later he declared it written between 440-400 B.C. This position was accepted by Abraham Geiger,[4] but except for the refutation by H. Graetz was considered according to Delitzch as too extraordinary to merit refutation. Seinecke[5] in 1876 and in more detail in 1884 declared the book to be a late pseudepigraphon written about 163 B. C. The learned world could not

1. Versuch einer Beleuchtung des Jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons Erstes Bändchen, Halle 1792. p. 95 ff.
2. 'Concerning the Author of some Poems ascribed to Ezekiel' in Vol V London 1798. p. 189 ff.
3. Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, Berlin. 1832 p.157-162
4. Urschrift und Übersetzung der Bibel 1857.p. 23.
   Nachgelassene Schriften 1875 II 83
5. Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Göttingen 1876 and II 1884.

accept these reconstructions, because they were neither methodical enough nor did the new dates proposed shed any light on the purpose the writer had in view.

While these former views proved unacceptable, it did not mean that there were no difficulties in the traditional interpretation of the book. Cornill,[1] Bertholet[2] and Toy[3] all directed attention to certain facts which called for discussion and explanation.

Although the Book of Ezekiel was admitted into the Canon it has always been regarded with suspicion. Jerome[4] informs us that the opening and closing chapters were not to be read by any youth under the age of thirty. Speculation on the meaning of the vision of the Chariot was forbidden and so apparent was the disagreement between the ritual programme of Chapters 40-48 and the Law of Moses that the book would have been "withdrawn" had not Hananiah ben Hezekiah[5] saved it. "What did he do? They brought him 300 jars of oil and he sat in an upper chamber and explained it." Exactly what this means we shall discuss later. For the present we would notice the Rabbi's concern about the book. To this we add the statement in Baba Bathra 14b and 15. "The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel and Esther."

Thus at no time has the unity or the integrity of the book gone unchallanged. Yet it has been the task of the present century,

1. Einleitung in das A.T. 1892. pp. 211-221.
2. Das Buch Hezekiel 1897
3. The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text. 1899
4. Epistle to Paulinus Vallarsi I 277.
5. Shabbath 14b. Chagiga 13a. Menachoth 45a.

especially the last fifteen years, thoroughly to sift all the evidence concerning this important work of prophecy. Kraetschmar[1] in 1900 discovered so many parallel passages or "duplications" that he suggested there had been two recensions of an earlier work later combined to form our present book: while Jahn in 1905 suggested that scribes had added to the original work oracles to suit their own later times. It was Herrmann, however, who made the first thoroughly methodical analysis of the book of Ezekiel in his "Ezechialstudien", published in 1908.[2] He finds a definite plan in the book which belongs to Ezekiel, but into this plan later writers have inserted their contributions, and Ezekiel himself from time to time altered his earlier work, so that in some parts we can see the writing of an old man. Hölscher[3] objects to this with the statement that it does not meet the situation in the book where there are two different historical backgrounds, that of the genuine Ezekiel and that of the supplement. He complains also that Herrmann's[4] commentary of 1924 represents an unaltered viewpoint and leaves the reader without explanation just where the problems of the book are.

However, our first task should be to give Herrmann's own position. He states[5] that if one studies a complete analysis of the whole book the following facts will become apparent: (1) our present book is

1. Das Buch Ezekiel, Göttingen, 1900
2. Herrmann, Ezechielstudien. Leipzig 1908.
3. Hölscher, Hezekiel der Dichter und das Buch.
4. Herrmann, Ezechiel. Leipzig 1924.
5. Ibid p. xxxiv.

something very different from the collection that Ezekiel made of his prophetic experiences and oracles, (2) the collections of oracles and their order and chronological arrangement may come from Ezekiel, (3) the work was not completed all at once, (4) Ezekiel worked over his earlier writing, and at times altered it, (5) there are additions by later hands and (6) the text has been both altered and debased.

A slight acquaintance with the text of Ezekiel would soon establish the claim that it has been altered. This fact however, is not difficult to accept when we take note of the rare words and uncommon architectural terms used and also of the strange experiences described. The scribe would at times unwittingly incorporate marginal explanations in the text itself.

The dates mentioned in the chapters serve to show a chronological intention on the part of the author, but refer only to what immediately follows. They do not refer to the whole of the passage between two dates. Ezekiel himself at a later time added to and slightly altered his earlier work. Other hands also added oracles here and there, or added to the oracles already there. Chapters 8-11 can be regarded as a literary unity dated from September 592 B. C., "doch ist der ursprungliche Text dieser ersten grossen Tempel-vision Ezechiels durch Einsatze erheblich erweitert und auseinandergesprengt."[1] The original conception can easily be recognised Chapters 8,9 and part of 10. Chapter 10 offers great difficulty in analysis. V. 1,4-6,

1. Ibid p. xxv

8-17, 21-22 are secondary, v.4-6, most likely a later comment by Ezekiel, and v.1 very probably by him too, but 8-17 and 21-22 seem to point more clearly to a strange hand. It is fairly obvious too, that in the shorter earlier prophecy a reference to the Fall of Jerusalem was inserted between verses 8 and 18. Here in this one chapter can be seen the processes which Herrmann uncovers in the whole book in his thoroughgoing analysis in the Commentary.

Herrmann seems to have established that the book of Ezekiel was not produced all at one time, but is rather akin to the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, which are collections of smaller utterances gathered together into one book at a date years subsequent to their original composition. He has also shown that there is no need to suppose an original double recension of the prophetic collection. The book is not a unity which would be destroyed by the removal of any single passage, but rather contains many additions some by Ezekiel himself in his later years, others more likely from the hands of subsequent editors. Herrmann would consider the seeming doublets as the prophet's second edition of an earlier oracle worked over by the preacher in his later, wiser years. He holds to the book being in a very large measure the work of the Babylonian Ezekiel. There are only two comments I would make on Herrmann's results; first, concerning the opening verse of the book and secondly, concerning the locale of certain of the oracles in the book. These will be deferred until a later chapter of our present exercise. Herrmann's work must be the basis of any further study of the prophetic book of Ezekiel as is attested by the large use made of it in the new commentary by G. A. Cooke.

Hölscher's viewpoint and insistence on Ezekiel as a poet

Herrmann's Commentary was followed by the publication in the same year of Hölscher's work.[1] This work was actually in the press when Herrmann's volume was published, but its publication was delayed for three months, Hölscher says, in order that he might carefully examine Herrmann's work and profit thereby. He knew Herrmann's earlier work and disappointedly remarks of this later work: "The commentary leaves one in the air just where the most difficult problems are. Especially, in regard to the literary questions Herrmann has remained substantially on the same ground as in his work of sixteen years earlier."[2] Hölscher himself had investigated the problem of Ezekiel since 1914 when busy on his work "Die Propheten." At that time the solution he now offers had dawned upon him. While some of his details might need further investigation and correction, he asks that we judge his work in regard to its main thesis.

Asserting that Ezekiel is the most misunderstood author in Hebrew literature, he intended to restore for mankind a true picture of Ezekiel the man, the poet, and the prophet. " Durch die Befreiung der Gedichte Hesekiel's aus der öden prosaischen Schablone, in die die Redaktion seine Gedichte eingespannt hat, tritt der Dichter Hesekiel mit seiner blendenden, phantasievollen und leidenschaftlichen Rhetorik nunmehr ins helle Licht."[3] Hölscher thus assumed that Ezekiel was

1. Hezekiel, der Dichter und das Buch. Giessen. 1924
2. Ibid p. 4.
3. Ibid p. 5.

a poet, and noticing the vigour of the poetry in the book in contrast to its poor prose, declared that the prose was from another hand. The book is therefore the work of at least two men, one the genuine Ezekiel who composed altogether sixteen poetic oracles, the other a Zadokite priest of Jerusalem about the time of Nehemiah who incorporated the work of the genuine Ezekiel in the book much as we now have it.[1]

The genuine Ezekiel as extracted for us with great difficulty from the many additions to and corruptions of the present text, is a prophetic poet of doom. He experiences two visions. The first, recorded in opening chapters, induced him to proclaim the final siege and overthrow of Jerusalem; the second, in which he saw the idolatrous practices in the Temple, aroused him to declare doom on Jerusalem and her allies Tyre and Egypt. He was no foe to Babylon but rather a friend of Babylon, willing even to praise her leniency in conquest, declaring that the punishment of Israel was deserved, as she had been so faithless to her marriage-bond with her Lord. Nine oracles declare the fate of Jerusalem, while six more proclaim the doom of Tyre and Egypt. These oracles, reconstructed only with the greatest difficulty by Hölscher, are with the two prose accounts of his visions all that we have from the pen of Ezekiel himself. Hölscher acknowledges that his reconstruction of the text is only an attempt, all he claims is that the text may have possibly been like his reconstruction.

1. Ibid. p. 32.

The first vision consists of 1^{4-28} (omitting the redactional material) $2^{1a,8-10}$, $3^{2,10-12,\ 14-15,16,24}$. What the prophet Ezekiel actually saw was an amazing natural spectacle. From out dark storm clouds there glittered brilliant shafts of light as varied as the colours of the rainbow. He believed he saw his God in this miracle. It was the God of his people, who since the time of Deborah had always drawn near in the storm. This time however he came not from Mt. Seir but from the North, where the Babylonians thought the mythological mountain of the gods was. The prophet, like Paul on the road to Damascus, described no details of his experience: a sign of the genuineness of the experience. He heard a voice in his phantasy and was called to be a prophet.[1] The second vision is Chapter 8 omitting verses 4, 8, 17b, 18, $9^{1-7,11}$, 11^{24-25}. These two visions made Ezekiel a prophet of doom, and he expressed his message in short poems in the Kinah metre.

The first poem has to be completely reconstructed, "This poem has been added to by another hand and exilic symbols have been inserted,"[2] and consisted of Chapter IV 1-2, 9a, 10-11, V^{1-2} wherein the siege of Jerusalem and the paucity of food in the besieged city are symbolised.

The next poem is Chapter XV 2-5 and its theme the fate of Jerusalem. Of all the genuine oracles in Chapters 15-24 Hölscher says "The main idea is always the same, the destruction of Jerusalem. The poet is however inexhaustible in his elucidation of that idea

1. cf. p. 50.
2. Ibid p. 62.

under ever new analogies. He extends his parallels and allegories in a remarkable way. They are always apt and of transparent meaning. His language is always so artistic, that it is a pity we cannot recover the original with greater certainty than at present we can."[1]

The other poems[2] Hölscher finds are (1) $16^{3ab-12,15,24-25}$ this poem in its present form is incomplete, but Hölscher prefers to make no further reconstruction, (2) $17^{1,4,5-9}$, (3) 19^{2-9} (4) $21^{14,16,19-21}$ (5) $23^{2-6,11-27}$ (6) $24^{3-5,16-17}$. All these poems refer to the fate of Jerusalem. In addition we must note the poetic oracles against Tyre and Egypt. The fate or Tyre[3] is expressed in two oracles by Ezekiel (1) $27^{3b-9a,\ 25b-36}$ and (2) 28^{12b-19}. The latter oracle can only be reconstructed in part, because of the hopeless confusion of the present text. Egypt[4] is referred to in five oracles of which two are but fragments, (1) 29^{3a-5a}, (2) 30^{21}, (3) $31^{3-4a,6-8}$, (4) 32^{2}, (5) $32^{18-19,\ 22-24,\ 26-27}$.

This is all that Hölscher leaves as the work of Ezekiel himself. The editor has written the major portion of the book. The great merit of Hölscher's work is his directing attention to the splendid poetry that is in the book of Ezekiel. He has recaptured for men the figure of Ezekiel the poet.

Next the work and purpose of the Editor of the Book of Ezekiel as we now have it, must be explicated. How important the work of this

1. Compare pp. 90-91
2. See pages 94-95,98-99,105-106,113,120-122
3. See pages 138-140, 141-142
4. See pages 145,150,152-153, 157, 161.

editor is we can realise when we see that according to Holscher's reconstruction in a book of 1273 verses some 170 remain as the work of the Prophet himself.[1] So skillfully have the various parts of the book of Ezekiel been woven together that no one reading superficially would imagine that there were different strands in the piece. Oracles of similar import are placed in proximity, dates are given in various places, stereotyped formulas begin and end many of the prophecies. There are recurrent phrases, in particular וידעתם כי אני יהוה. These must all originate from one editor and Holscher called him the Redactor, to distinguish him from the later supplementers, who subsequently added their additions and whose work it is impossible at the present time to distinguish from the Redactor's.

The Redactor constructed our present book, which is clearly divisible into two parts. In the first part Ezekiel is the silent pfophet of doom, while in the second part his mouth is opened and oracles of promise are present. Israel is in the first part "a house of rebellion", while in the second part the exiles are pictured as greedy to hear the divine word. From mention of certain historic events such as Cambyses conquest of Egypt in 525 B. C. and an acquaintance with the Temple building of Zerabbabel 515 B.C. and from an examination of the relationship of Ezekiel's legal code with H (Leviticus 17-26), Hölscher decides that the date of the Redactor is about the time of Nehemiah. This gives the book the character of a pseudepigraphon. The writer thought to clothe his message with the authority

1. cf. Cooke J.T.S. Vol 27. 1926. p. 201.

of Ezekiel so he constructed his book and put into Ezekiel's mouth promises for the future when Israel should be not only an hearer but also a doer of the divine word. These promises would be fulfilled in Israel of the redactor's own day, because while the exiles heard the word fully, they did not do it; now that the Temple was being re-built and the people were obedient to God's will the prophecies of weal would be fulfilled. And the Redactor in a final vision of Ezekiel's gave his own programme for the practical reconstruction of Jewish ritual and religion.

Criticism of Hölscher's viewpoint.

If the book of Ezekiel is a pseudepigraph then we have hardly an adequate reason to explain why a redactor who was capable of such great passages, as for example the vision of the valley of dry bones and the vision of the chariot would be careful to entwine his work around the oracles of an otherwise obscure prophet. And is the purpose of the Redactor as transparent as Hölscher would have it? If this book was an inspiration to the people of Nehemiah's day to expect great things from their God, it is strange that all knowledge of it as such has escaped the records of history or Jewish tradition. Again if Holscher's ideas were correct we would judge the Redactor another prophet, and a greater than the genuine Ezekiel.

A further point on which many of Hölscher's arguments are based is the impossibility of prediction. He supposes that if any oracle shows acquaintance with an historical event it must have been written after that event. From a seeming acquaintance with the temple building of Zerubbabal in 518 B. C. Hölscher would date that oracle later[1] --

1. Ibid p. 31.

but it might be that the words of Ezekiel influenced the conduct of Israel in that year. In Chapter 40-42 because the description of the Temple agrees with the Temple of Zerubbabel in its difference from that of Solomon, Hölscher would maintain that the description could not belong to the Babylonian Ezekiel: but we could take these Chapters as the plan that Zerubbabel would follow, hence they could have been written by Ezekiel in Babylon. Knowledge of the fate of Zedekiah presents a different problem from knowledge of the work of Cambyses, but whether in each case the reference has been inserted after the event must be decided on its own merits. The present writer believes in the possibility of prediction, because he believes in the personal interest of God in the course of history. The genuineness of any supposed prediction must be tested by historical study not ruled out of court by an a priori judgment.

Again in commenting on the supposed second-sight of Ezekiel Hölscher makes the a priori statement "I do not believe in telepathic visions in spite of Swedenborg and his present day followers."[1] This statement he is hardly entitled to make in the face of the numerous cases testified to by modern psychology. Kittel says it is a question ultimately for Experimental Psychology and not biblical exegesis, but I believe that even if psychology has established the possibility of second sight we have to determine whether we have cases of it in Ezekiel. We will return to this question again, but the present writer thinks that there is no need of second sight here as Ezekiel was in Jerusalem and it was the Redactor who putting him

1. Ibid p. 16.

in Babylon had to resort to this subterfuge to introduce Ezekiel's message. An examination of Chapter 11 1-13 will make the position clear. Hölscher declares the journey of the prophet in spirit from Babylon to Jerusalem, the vision of the temple and the prophet's message with the subsequent death of Pelatiah as a 'marvel', and proclaims it a legend with a false ending because when the prophet's mesaage was so speedily fulfilled instead of being overjoyed, "fällt der Prophet laut schreiend nieder und klagt fürbittend über die Vernichtung des Restes Israels".[1] This legend was constructed shortly after the prophet's death, when it was seen that his messages of doom coincided in time with the dramatic death of Pelatiah. To escape the necessity of believing in second-sight Holscher has recourse to deceit on Ezekiel's part. But if we read the oracle we notice that it has really nothing to say to the exiles, it is only to the point if spoken in Jerusalem. In fact the statement is that Ezekiel prophesied in the temple and that when he had spoken Pelatiah fell dead. How could a prophet in vision be speaking to men hundreds of miles away and as a result of his preaching a man be struck dead? As it stands the incident is impossible, but if we remove the redactor's introduction verses 1-3 we have the record, plain and straightforward, of an incident in the prophet's Jerusalem ministry. Nor is it strange that Ezekiel should be overcome by the tragic death of Pelatiah and lament the fate of the remnant of Israel: it would only be natural if he were human and patriotic, when he was so startlingly

1. Ibid p.76

reminded that his prophecies of doom were shortly to come to pass.

When we ask Hölscher why Ezekiel was only a prophet of doom we find this is an assumption. What right has he to make that assumption? Could not a prophet proclaim the certainty of the divine judgment and at the same time be aware of God's subsequent mercy? Is it not true that the prophets all combined some hope for God's chosen race with their dark forebodings? Holscher states[1] that the Redactor put Chapter 3^{25-27} into the text to indicate that Ezekiel did not utter his words of doom to the exiles. Because of the law of silence that was put upon him, they were subsequently put in writing. The exiles after the Fall of Jerusalem knew that there was a prophet among them and gladly came to him then as hearers of the word. Into the mouth of the prophet then the redactor puts the new message of promise to the men of his own day who were not only hearers but also doers of the divine word. We would agree that the ban of silence is the work of the redactor - but he desires to obscure the fact that the prophetic work of Ezekiel in Jerusalem was subsequently carried on after the Fall of Jerusalem among the exiles in Babylon where his prophecies of doom gave place to messages tinctured with hope.

Hölscher makes the further assumption that apart from the descriptions of his two vision experiences the work of the genuine Ezekiel is poetry. Can he legitimately make such an assumption? The ecstatic theory of prophecy which he strongly supports would make each oracle a short inspired poem describing what had just immediately been experienced in ecstatic trance. This theory is so uncertain that

1. Ibid p.58-60

it is precarious to build superstructure on it. All records of ecstatic trances are not given in poetry--although they are given in intense language on the border line between prose and poetry because in them feeling is strongly aroused. We cannot assume that Ezekiel wrote only in poetry. Again Hölscher's reconstructions are at times so conjectural, that one feels that with much other elevated prose, we could conjecture poems by the same methods. He establishes the point that Ezekiel was a poet, but not that he wrote only poetry. Further a comparison of the passages that he considere poetry compared with the passages considered poetry by the modern translations of Moffatt 1925, the American Translation 1927, and the Jewish Translation of 1917 reveals serious divergences. The comparison is made thus:

Hölscher	Jewish	Moffatt	American
$4^{1-2,9-11}$			
5^{1-2}			
		12^{11-14}	
		14^{13-23}	
15^{2-5}			
$16^{3b-12,15,24-25}$			
$17^{1,4,5-9}$	17^{3b-10}		$17^{2b-10,22-24}$
	18^{2b}		18^{2b}
19^{2-9}	19^{2-14}	19^{2-14}	19^{2-14}
$21^{14,16,19-21}$	$21^{14b-16,33b-37}$	21^{9b-17}	$21^{9-17,28-32}$
$23^{2-6,11-27}$	23^{32b-34}	23^{32b-35}	23^{32-34}
$24^{3-5,16-17}$	24^{3b-5}	24^{3b-5}	24^{3b-5}

Hölscher	Jewish	Moffatt	American
	$26^{2b-6,8-14,17b-18}$	$26^{2b-6,8-14,17b-18}$	$26^{2-14,17b-18}$
$27^{3b-9a,25-36}$	$27^{3b-10,25-36}$	$27^{3b-10,25-36}$	$27^{3b-11,25b-36}$
28^{12b-19}	$28^{2b-10,22,23}$	$28^{2b-10,22,23}$	$28^{2-10,22,23}$
29^{3a-5a}	$29^{3,5b-7}$	29^{3b-7}	29^{3b-7}
30^{21}	$30^{2b-4,6-19}$	$30^{2b-4,6-19}$	$30^{2-4,6-19}$
$31^{3-4a,6-8}$	31^{2b-9}	31^{2b-9}	31^{2b-9}
$32^{2,18-19,22-24,}$	$32^{2b-8,12b-16}$	$32^{2b-8,12b-16}$	$32^{2b-8,11-16,19}$
32^{26-27}		32^{19-21}	$32^{20,21b}$
		35^{3b-4}	
			37^{3}

Could there be more difference of opinion as to what of our present text represents original poetry? In only a few cases do all four translations agree and in some cases as Chapter 32 the very verses omitted by one constitute the poetry of the other. We must conclude that the reconstruction of the poems of Ezekiel is at any rate for the present a task that has not been successfully accomplished. We may accept the fact that Ezekiel wrote in poetry sometimes, but his poems are now almost irretrievably lost in their poetical form.

Lastly we may mention that Hölscher has exaggerated the difference between the prose and poetry. The former may be at times pedestrian and diffuse but a comparison with the Greek version will at times suggest that this is partly due to the inclusion of marginal corrections and additions. The diffuseness may at times also be due to the prosy additions of the ageing Ezekiel of Babylon. Hölscher's brilliant suggestions and analysis cannot take us all the way with him. He has done however, a great service to Ezekielean study by drawing attention to Ezekiel the Poet.

Buttenwieser

Dr. Moses Buttenwieser[1] was the next writer to attack the problem of Ezekiel. He proposed certain explanations of the Ezekiel problem that merit attention. From the outset he assumes the unity of the book considering that Hölscher's suggestion of two writers has been definitely refuted. This subject he does not discuss, and thus simplifies his task in several ways.

The usual conception of Ezekiel is that from 592 B.C. until the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. he endeavoured "to make the exiles see that Jerusalem was to be destroyed and the rest of the nation exiled."[2] The first half of the book, Chapters 1-24, is the record of Ezekiel's prophecies at that time, Chapters 3-11 and 14 and 20 being delivered before either the exiles as a body or their elders and Chapters 12 and 24 recording symbolic actions actually performed in public. This viewpoint is however in contradiction to Ezekiel's own statement Chapter $3^{16,22-27}$ that "no sooner had he recovered his senses at the expiration of the seven days than he had another vision, in which God ordered him to shut himself up in his house and to remain there bound and speechless and not to go forth among the people as their prophet or admonisher until God should again open his mouth."[3] And we are told in 33^{21-22} and 24^{25-27} that God removed his dumbness only when a fugitive from Jerusalem brought news to Babylon that the city had fallen.

1. The Date and Character of Ezekiel's Prophecies. Hebrew Union College Annual. 1930.
2. Ibid p.1.
3. Ibid p.2.

Buttenwieser states that both these contradictions cannot be true and "it is not hard to decide which is the correct one inasmuch as a careful examination of the Book of Ezekiel reveals the fact that both Chapters 33-48 and Chapters 1-32 are a product of the time, not before but after the destruction of Jerusalem."[1] This is proved to Dr. Buttenwieser by several facts, first that the destruction of Jerusalem and Judea and the exile are spoken of as actual occurrences, second, Ezekiel speaks of the exultation of certain enemies at the troubles of Jerusalem in the day of its fall, and third, the use of the perfect tense without any interchange with the imperfect. To quote only 19^{12-13} is sufficient to indicate these facts,

"But in fury the vine was plucked up, cast down to the ground,
The East wind dried up its fruit.
Broken off was its mighty branch, and withered, consumed by the fire.
Now it is planted in the wilderness, in a dry and thirsty land."

The symbolic act of 12^{1-16} tallies in every respect with what happened at the fall of Jerusalem - hence there is about it only one conclusion - "that the entire passage must be a vaticinium post eventum."[2] All this means that when Ezekiel states that between 592 B.C. and the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. his mouth was shut and that he uttered no prophecies, he is simply telling the truth, quite forgetful of the fact that he is betraying his own misrepresentation. All the so-called prophecies of Chapters 1-32 are not prophecies but only disguised as such - they are all written after the events.

1. Ibid p. 4.
2. Ibid p.7.

Kinship is shown to later apocalyptic literature in the visionary voyages. These are so prominent in both. Buttenwieser gives a number of examples of visionary voyages in apocalyptic literature, indicating how in the Apocalypse of Fourth Ezra the writer used the same terms to describe the immediate effects and after-affects of ecstatic experience. Hence he would have us see in the visionary voyages of Chapter 8-11 and 40-48 experiences of ecstatic trances. In the first voyage we note how important is Ezekiel's own prophecy in Jerusalem 11^{1-13} - and in this prophecy "we have another clear reference to what actually happened at the time of the fall of Jerusalem, when the high officials of the state were taken from Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar's headquarters at Riblah, on the border of Israel, and there executed."[1]

Finally the picture Buttenwieser obtains of Ezekiel is of a prophet in Babylon who wrote not later than 570 B.C.[2] in order to gain acceptance for his ritualistic legislation. The so-called prophetic section of the book is only an introduction to the great vision of the future temple in a rebuilt Jerusalem. The most revolutionary idea in this reconstruction of the book is that Ezekiel did not at any time before 586 B.C. predict Jerusalem's overthrow. It would make Ezekiel a man "subject to the limitations of his own times. The real essence of the religious views of the great prophets he was not able to grasp."[3]

1. Ibid p. 17.
2. Chapter 40-48 bears the date of the fourteenth year after the fall of Jerusalem, and Chapter 29^{17-21} the date of the sixteenth year after the same event.
3. Ibid p. 18

For him the Temple and its ritual remained of magical significance as in primitive religion, and before the actual fall of Jerusalem "he shared the common view of priest and laity that the Temple at Jerusalem was inviolate, that Jahweh could not possibly permit its destruction." Well has he been called the Father of Judaism; he belongs not to the company of the prophets, but only to that of priests and legislators.

Criticism.

If Buttenwieser is correct, then an altogether new idea of Ezekiel has been obtained. But one wonders how those to whom he addressed his book would take his first part, if they knew that he had been silent about the fall of Jerusalem before its occurrence, and now pretended that all the time he had known about it, but God had not permitted him to speak. Even if his hearers accepted this, Ezekiel knew it was untrue. I for one cannot accept such an accusation against Ezekiel, nor can I accept as ethically possible Buttenwieser's explanation of the death of Pelatiah. "Now in view of the fact that Ezekiel was not bodily present at the Temple in Jerusalem, and that consequently the prophecy he speaks of was not actually made, but was merely an imaginary prophecy, it is excluded that Pelatiah's sudden death could have been caused by it, or even been coincident with the prophecy spoken of here. Now Pelatiah, in all probability, did die suddenly in the sixth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, else Ezekiel would not have been likely to refer to it as a fact a decade or so later. The most probable explanation is that when some few years after Pelatiah's death Ezekiel wrote his book, it occurred to him to bring this dramatic occurrence and the imaginery

prophecy made on his visionary voyage to Jerusalem into the relation of cause and effect." [1] But already Buttenwieser has accepted this chapter as belonging to an ecstatic trance - does he mean that Ezekiel has edited the account of his ecstatic trance by adding this little dramatic touch to it, or does he mean that in the vision, this connection of the death of Pelatiah and his prophecy occurred? If the former then the writer of the book of Ezekiel is of a very low ethical standard, if the latter, Ezekiel knew that his trance experience was untrue to past facts and hence he must have had some question in his mind concerning its value. We cannot accept Buttenwieser's explanation here. Although with Buttenwieser we would accept the possibility of visionary voyages in ecstatic trance it is strange that some of his examples are taken from Apocalyptic books where we believe the vision is a literary device.[2] Does he mean to suggest that the earlier visionary voyage was such an analogy with the true ecstatic vision he experienced and records in Chapter 40-48? One would also expect thata writer in the position that Buttenwieser places Ezekiel would have been more careful than he was not to allow into his earlier records, evidence that his prophecies were not such but made only after the event. Buttenwieser's solution raises more problems than it solves and certainly robs Old Testament prophecy of one of its most mysterious and majestic figures. One service that Buttenwieser has done is to draw attention to the fact that many of the prophecies in their written form show a knowledge of the actual happenings that

1. Ibid p. 17
2. Enoch, Daniel, Fourth Ezra.

they predict. This may only mean that Ezekiel wrote nothing until after the fall of Jerusalem and at times gave more exact details in his account than he did at the time they were orally delivered. This would only be natural, but if he did not predict the fall of Jerusalem before 586 B.C. we cannot understand how the exiles would be impressed with his subsequent claims to previous knowledge with the excuse of the divine command to be dumb.

Chapter II

Ezekiel, Prophet in the Days of Manasseh

In 1930 Torrey published his book.[1] "The interpretation here presented does not bring into view a new prophecy, it merely renders an old prophecy for the first time comprehensible..... I know, and am glad to know, that this new picture of the prophet will be met with suspicion."[2] So he wrote in the Preface. It will therefore be necessary to give at some length an account of Torrey's reconstruction of the book of Ezekiel.

Torrey first discusses the Jewish tradition concerning the book. There is the remarkable fact of the temporary rejection of the book of Ezekiel. The canon of the Old Testament was carefully planned in accordance with a liberal policy. While the first consideration was the religious value of a book, yet it had to ante date the late Persian period, because that was the period of the Samaritan schism. If we examine the book and carefully note its claims to canonicity we may well wonder at its rejection, the reason for which has long been hidden from sight. The Talmud gives as the reason for its rejection, "because its words conflicted with those of the Torah," and adds that it was restored by Hananiah ben Hezekiah to whom they brought 300 jars of oil "and he sat in an upper chamber and explained it." This Torrey does not take seriously -- he says th. Torah was in no danger, and as the laws which conflicted with the Torah were not to be put into operation until the Messianic future, no one need be troubled in interpreting its message.[3] It was not the closing Chapters alone that were a trouble to the Rabbis but also the opening, because they give rise to Theosophical speculations. Again this is only to hide the real crux

1. Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy
2. Ibid p. 5.
3. Ibid p. 15.

of the problem; "The prophecy has two beginnings, mutually exclusive."[1]

Then we have in the earliest Jewish tradition of which we have knowledge the statement of Baba Bathra 14b and 15 "The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel and Esther." Here the Rabbis refuse to state that Ezekiel wrote his book "because they knew that the book was not written by the 'Ezekiel" of the Babylonian Captivity."[2] They recognize no such prophet.

Next Torrey asks who were the prophet's hearers and the Golah. The ordinary idea that the oracles are addressed to exiles in Babylon will not bear close scrutiny. The bulk of the prophecy apart from the oracles to foreign nations is addressed to the people of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In the account of his call the prophetic task given to Ezekiel was to be a watchman to warn Israel. Merely futile as spoken to exiles in Babylon are most of the oracles, and quite unfaithful to his divine commission is Ezekiel, if he belongs to the Babylonian exile. "The prophet's formal call was to speak to the people of Judah and Jerusalem, and his recorded discourses are actually addressed to them."[3] Then there follows an examination of the various oracles which shows that they are addressed to the men of Jerusalem and the Babylonian setting is the work of an editor. "The prophet nowhere speaks to Jewish exiles, nor does he show any knowledge of such a community. His dwelling place was Jerusalem, and his mission was to the people of the holy land, to warn and rescue those who would listen and repent."[4]

1. Ibid p. 17.
2. Ibid p. 21
3. Ibid p. 29
4. Ibid p. 44.

The sins which Ezekiel condemns are very similar to those Josiah tried to overcome in the reformation of 621 B. C. Therefore the post-reformation date of Ezekiel will depend on the ill-success of Josiah's undertaking. 2Kings 22-25 which is our main source of information gives the impression that the reforms were thorough and permanent. Torrey then shows that we cannot accept an immediate recrudescence of the sins put down by Josiah after his death at Megiddo. "For the date of the original prophecy (of Ezekiel) we must look to a time earlier than the 18th year of Josiah's reign."[1]

Torrey next examines the dates scattered in the book, and finding that if we accept the opening verse as a correct dating and excise 1^2 we are left with months and days that all follow in regular sequence - only the years have to be altered. "This very striking fact.....occurs to give us the unexpected information that the First Book (Chapters 1-39) of the original prophecy covered only the years 30-32 of its era..... In view especially of the remarkably homogenous and closely knit character of the work - written 'in einem Zuge' (Smend) - the period of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years seems much more natural than the $7\frac{1}{2}$ (or $22\frac{1}{2}$) of the present dating."[2] An examination of the reigns of previous kings of Judah shows that in the reign of Manasseh the date in the 30th year could be suitable. Hence the book of Ezekiel Chapters 1-39 is built up around the account of the reign of Manasseh in 2Kings 21^{2-16} : so we have also an explanation of why this book which is

1. Ibid p. 57.
2. Ibid.p. 61.

strongly influenced by the ideas of Jeremiah does not mention that prophet by name; the writer remained true to the historical setting of Ezekiel who lived before Jeremiah had appeared on the scene.

The next subject for enquiry is the date when this book of prophecy was written. Did the author write at the time of Manasseh or was the book composed at a later date? The remarkably exact forecasts of future history causes the question of 'prophecy after the event' to arise constantly. The repeated cases of clairvoyance and the strange psychological phenomena of the book arouse at least a suspicion of falsity. Modern commentators almost reduce Ezekiel to the figure of a clairvoyant epileptic of the exile. But if we take note of the habits of the pseudepigraphic writers and remember that in the later centuries B.C. every prophet was believed to have possessed 'second sight' we can well believe that the strangeness of Ezekiel is due to "a literary procedure made familiar by other Jewish authors."[1]

Torrey then deals with the Hebrew, and asserts that the language belongs to the latest period of Old Testament writing. As he maintains, deterioration in a language is not shown in the ability to borrow from other languages; when because a language is no longer used, its grammar and style lose their uniqueness and are influenced from outside, as was the case with Hebrew when it was no longer the speech of the people and its place was taken by Aramaic, then we have deterioration. The Aramaic influence on the language of Ezekiel is pervasive, not only in borrowed words but

1. Ibid p. 82.

in structural features and in syntax to an extent unequalled in any other book of the Old Testament.

After this must be considered the literary relations of Ezekiel. Torrey relying on the work of Millar Burrows, asserts that these also require a late date. All these considerations point to the Greek period as the time when the book of Ezekiel was written. "A date c.230 meets the conditions perfectly."[1]

Between the date of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C. and John Hyrcanus 130 B.C. the hostility between the Jews and the Samaritans was at its highest. The Jews according to Torrey won the victory by "a very ingenious reconstruction of history." They maintained that the genuine Jewish tradition had been preserved by exiles in Babylon and brought back to Jerusalem at the "Return". This book was then "doctored" into an exile framework about thirty years after its writing and was a strong bulwark in the historical fiction of a return from captivity.

The book therefore is a pseudepigraph written about 230 B.C. by a Jerusalem priest who had a plan for a new Temple in Jerusalem, and subsequently altered by the superimposing of a Babylonian framework by a writer of the school of the Chronicler about 200 B.C. Such is the revolutionary reconstruction of the book by Torrey.

Criticism.

So thorough-going is Torrey's reconstruction of the Book of Ezekiel that we must discuss its position in relation to the differing evidence he adduces. Our purpose will be to discuss and

1. Ibid p. 99.

criticise Pseudo-Ezekiel under the following subject headings, (1) The Jewish tradition (2) the locale of the prophet (3) Josiah's reformation (4) the dates (5) prediction (6) psychology (7) language (8) literary relations (9) the exilic framework (10) "The Return" (11) Samaritan and Sadducean tendencies and (12) Pseudepigraph.

(1) The Jewish Tradition.

Torrey has correctly drawn attention to the fact that only with difficulty did the Book of Ezekiel win its place into the canon of Scripture. He quotes the story of Hananiah ben Hezekiah and his three hundred jars of oil when he was reconciling its teaching with that of the Torah. He however dismisses this story as but good natured "camouflage", as being in other words a story without any basis of fact. He knows that we no longer possess the large volume that must have been written if three hundred jars of oil were needed to give light to the rabbi as he laboured. He therefore concludes that it was not written. But Rashi complains that it was because of the sins of the Jews that it had been lost. And Shalom Spiegel is able to produce two quotations from the work of Hananiah embedded in other Jewish writings. These two quotations are to be found, the first in Sifre ad Deut 25^{14} and the second in Hagigah 13a.[1] To illustrate the first we may quote "The passage from Siphre furnishes an example of the method which Hananiah ben Hezekiah adopted in harmonizing the prophet with the laws of Moses. It relates to Ezekiel 46^{11} in which the meat offering is spoken of

1. Harvard Theological Review 1934

as consisting of an ephah for a bullock and an ephah for a ram and (an ephah) for the lambs: 'but is the measure for bullocks, rams and lambs the same? or is it rather three tenth deals for a bullock, two tenth deals for a ram and one tenth deal for a lamb (Numbers 15^{4ff})?' Hananiah's reply: 'The passage in Ezekiel 'is to teach that the measure, whether large or small, is called an ephah". What this humane exegesis means"[1] other statements make plain. The law is to be fully obeyed where possible. The only difficulty with this quotation is that it is not for certain from Hananiah, and in the Standard Edition of Sifre by Friedmann Vienna 1864 it is attributed to Eleazar ben Hananiah ben Hezekiah. This makes it very difficult to accept it as a genuine quotation from Hananiah, as the Jews greatly desiring some record of this work would be favourably disposed to accept the son's words as those of his greater father.

The other quotation in Hagigah 13a occurs as follows, " It happened once that a youth was reading in his teacher's house in the book of Ezekiel and pondering on the haśmal when fire issued from the hasmal and consumed him; whereupon they sought to withdraw the book of Ezekiel. But Hananiah ben Hezekiah said to them: If he(the youth) was wise, are then all wise?"[2] This quotation is undisputed and certainly is evidence in support of the work of Hananiah ben Hezekiah in obtaining the inclusion of the Book in the Canon. Nor can we regard the tale of the three hundred jars

1. Ibid p. 258
2. Ibid p. 263

of oil as only a tale. We must not judge the rabbis by our standpoint. The earnestness with which they discussed and tried to harmonise the ritual deviations of Ezekiel from the Mosaic Torah is a proof of this conviction of the authenticity of Ezekiel. Nor can we say with Torrey that as the ritual was for a day to come its discrepancies would not alarm them. The rabbis believed that the Mosaic Torah had an eternal validity. The very fact that it balked at the door of canonicity is an indication of the authenticity of Ezekiel. The second reason that the Talmud gives in the quotation above is to be taken more seriously than Torrey would admit. Although the dangerous descriptions of the Merkabhah occur in later chapters against which no warning is given by the rabbis, yet there it would not be in the same striking position as in the opening chapter. Also if the youth of Jewry had been warned that they were not to let the description lead them away into esoteric doctrines of the mysteries of the Godhead, when this description was repeated they would already be on their guard.

In spite of the loss of Hananiah ben Hezekiah's work, Jewish tradition is conclusive in its support of the position that the real difficulties of the book of Ezekiel are the differences in Chapters 40-48 from the Mosaic Torah, and the strange description of the "chariot". Here Torrey is in error.

(2) The Locale of the Prophet.

One of the great merits of Torrey's work is his recognition of the fact that many of the oracles of Chapters 1-24 are almost

futile unless spoken in Jerusalem. However, as we are to devote a good deal of attention to this subject in a later chapter, we would just notice at this point that Torrey has made an outstanding contribution here to a real appreciation of the prophet.

(3) The Success of Josiah's Reformation.

Torrey maintains that our account in 2Kings$^{22-25}$ of Josiah's reformation gives the impression that it was a success. The very sins that Ezekiel condemns are those that this reformation had put down. Can they have returned so soon as to be again in need of condemnation in Ezekiel's time. The testimony of the Book of Jeremiah would give an affirmative reply. Torrey on the other hand says no. He has no warrant for his denial. In fact a recrudesence of these sins is almost certain on the analogy of history after the early and tragic death of Josiah at Megiddo 608 B.C. One has only to think of the excesses of the Restoration after the death of Oliver Cromwell in British history. Josiah's reformation was an attempt to improve people by legislation which had not been adumbrated by previous popular thought, hence it would have no permanence when once the guiding hand of the king was removed.

(4) The Dates.

Torrey notices that "the months and days exhibit a regular sequence of their own, quite irrespective of the years to which they are assigned in our present text."[1] Hence he deduces two and a half years as all that are needed for the preaching of the prophet. There are only twelve dates given hence the phenomena noted by Torrey may

1. Ibid p. 60

be pure accident. He has really nothing on which to base his statement. Then he confidently affirms that the thirtieth year of Ezekiel 1^1 refers to the thirtieth year of the reign of Manasseh - but there are other kings who reigned longer than thirty years. Why pick out Manasseh? Also it is strange that if the account of Manasseh's reign given in 2 Kings 21^{2-16} should have been the source of the writer of the pseudepigraph's knowledge of that reign, Millar Burrows find no literary relations with that passage in the Book of Ezekiel. Both Torrey's assumptions in the matter of dates are based on slender foundations. Later we will discuss the date of the first verse and attempt to see its correct meaning. "The oracles on the false prophets in 12^{24}, 13^{6ff}, 22^{28}, are said to be based on 2 Kings 21^6 but not one of the varieties of divination in that verse are once mentioned in Ezekiel and characteristic phrases in 2 Kings $21^{8,13}$ describing the prophetic messages of the prophets of Manasseh's days, are not used by E."[1]

(5) Prediction.

Torrey assumes that prediction is an impossibility and at once regards any supposed correct foreshadowings of future events as statements written after the event. One must be on one's guard against credulity and be willing to see that prophets, after the events foretold, might have thought that they foretold in greater detail than they actually had done. If however they had not foretold at all and afterwards wrote as if they had, then are we able to respect their integrity? I cannot see how we can revenence the

1. Harford p. 48

integrity of the prophets unless we accept the position that they made predictions.

(6) Psychology.

Concerning the psychology of Ezekiel much has been written. One could wish that it all were written with the discernment of Torrey. The exponents of the ecstatic theory of prophecy would have us regard Ezekiel as akin in psychological make-up to a madman. Even those who would avoid the pathological symptoms claim him as a clairvoyant. They regard his vision of the temple in Jerusalem as an instance of second-sight or telepathy. Hölscher declares that he does not believe in second-sight, Torrey does not either and with them most scientists. Even if second-sight is a possibility I believe that we have first by our exegesis of the various passages of Ezekiel to see if we have any cases of it in the book. I believe that we will later prove that they are due to false exilic framework into which the earlier oracles of Ezekiel of Jerusalem are placed.

(7) Language.

In connection with his argument for the lateness of the Book of Ezekiel, Torrey indicates not only the number of loan words but also the foreign influence on the structure and syntax. The point that must be decided is, could Aramaic have influenced Hebrew by 570 B. C. as greatly as the Hebrew of Ezekiel is influenced by it. We believe it could. If Ezekiel wrote in Babylon towards the end of his life, there is nothing extraordinary in the language. Anyone who has lived in a foreign land for any length of time knows

that the language he daily hears does affect his mother speech. All the language characteristics of the book of Ezekiel are satisfied if Ezekiel wrote towards the end of his life as an exile among the Babylonians.

(8) Literary Relations.

Torrey maintains that the question of literary relations has entered a new phase through the work of Millar Burrows.[1] Torrey is chagrined at the lack of recognition this work has received, and is disappointed that Curt Kuhl[2] while praising "its scholarly caution and reserve, will not admit its right to reach a conclusion."[3] Burrows reaches in all cases of importance only a "perhaps". We ought not to be willing to accept as a proof what is only based on "perhaps". Torrey is convinced that Ezekiel was not the type to influence other writers and was just the kind of man who would ponder over the words of God's servants of old. Finally he says, "The instances in which he makes direct literary use of writings now generally acknowledged to be of late date are both very numerous and very conspicuous. Reference has already been made to his great indebtedness to the latest documents of the Pentateuch, and it is also certain that he was well acquainted with prophetical literature belonging to the Persian period."[3]

There are in Ezekiel but two cases of direct quotation both from pre-exilic literature. Why then does Torrey speak of "direct literary use" even of literature belonging to the Persian period? But what does Millar Burrows say? As a result of the study of Ezekiel

1. Yale dissertation entitled The Literary Relations of Ezekiel. 1925
2. Reviewing the book in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, March 17,1928
3. Ibid p.92

and acknowledged Pre-exilic writings he states that Ezekiel used earlier literature extensively, but "he did not look up his quotations or verify his references; he simply read, marked, pondered, and inwardly digested, then spoke out of a full mind. This sentence is itself an illustration of the kind of quotation most characteristic of Ezekiel."[1] We therefore find that Ezekiel has examples of every form of dependence, namely repetition, adoption, variation, division, combination, elaboration and allusion in his use of borrowed expressions. This means that we have no characteristic criterion by which to judge whether in a literary relation Ezekiel is the borrower or being borrowed from.

There are several conclusions in Burrows' work we must quote to show how in the crucial cases, it is always a verdict of "nothing proved." "All these parallels suggest, if they do not prove, the dependence of Ezekiel upon Isaiah 40-55. There is no Messiah in Ezekiel, and it is rather hard to understand his doctrine of individual retribution if he was acquainted with the figure of the Suffering Servant," [2]unless he did not understand it. Here Millar Burrows undoes in his second sentence any claim to dependence that his parallels might have suggested.

Concerning the relationship with our book of Job he states, "Ezekiel may, therefore, have known the earlier prose writing from which the prologue and epilogue of Job were taken, but there is no evidence that he knew the poem."[3] Of Chronicles - Ezra - Nehemiah, Burrows concludes," The two books are doubtless related in some way,

1. Ibid p. 14
2. Ibid p. 38
3. Ibid p. 85

but the nature of the relationship is not clear,"[1] and summarises concerning Daniel, "The net result of this comparison of Ezekiel and Daniel is that the Aramaic portion of Daniel may well be prior to Ezekiel, but the Hebrew portion is quite clearly dependent upon Ezekiel."[2]

The only conclusion would seem to be, that if other facts prove a late date for Ezekiel, its literary relations will harmonize with it. If however Ezekiel was written in Babylon during the exile the literary relations will not be disconsonant therewith. A study of the literary relations alone, proves nothing in the case for a Babylonian or Persian date.

(9) The Exilic Framework.

Torrey has given on page 108-9 by printing the editor's words in bold type a text wherein one can quickly see what he believes is the exilic framework. He makes no claim to finality and says others may improve on his work. Here I believe he is on correct lines. In a later chapter we shall discuss the exilic framework that has been superimposed on the oracles of Ezekiel of Jerusalem.

(10) The Exile and the "Return".

The position Torrey holds in regard to the "return" from Babylonian exile is frequently misunderstood. He is quoted as denying the exile, but all he denies is the return of the exiles from Babylon. "For the last seventy years Torrey has sought to prove that the whole story of a Babylonian Exile and Return is pure fiction.

1. Ibid p.91.
2. Ibid p.101.

The Book of Ezekiel, as it stands, blocks the way. He must therefore shew that the author never lived in Babylonia and that all the prophecies have their scene in Judah and Jerusalem."[1] In so short a statement it would be difficult to compress more misstatements. Torrey does not deny the exile, but only the "Return". Nor does the book of Ezekiel in any way support the Chronicler's reconstruction of history so-called; in the numerous passages in Chapters 36 and 37 where a return from many lands is predicted, there is no mention of Babylonia. This we would certainly expect in a book edited into a pseudepigraph to support the Chronicler's thesis. However we let Torrey speak for himself; "I hold no opinion, nor have entertained any theory, as to the Babylonian Exile, which could in the least be disturbed by the recognition of the Book of Ezekiel as a genuine prophecy written by one of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia. The fact of the exile is perfectly attested, and I have never at any time questioned it; nor have I doubted that priests and 'elders' were among those deported. My opinion as to the trustworthiness of the Chronicler's great 'history' has nothing to do with these facts."[2] But the book of Ezekiel if written in the Babylonian exile does make more important the tradition that was restored by way of Babylonia. That the Samaritans never attack the story of the return from Babylon surpasses our understanding, if that return were only an historical fabrication of the Chronicler's mind. The complete absence of the denial of the return in Samaritan literature and tradition may very

1. John Battersby Harford. Studies in the Book of Ezekiel. Cambridge 1935. p. 21.
2. Expository Times Vol. 47 .May 1936. p. 381.

well be considered an attestation of its historic truth, and a proof of the Chronicler's general integrity. So damaging a reconstruction as the "Return" was to Samaritan pre-eminence would not have been left unexposed.

(11) Samaritan Tendencies.

A fact that ought not to escape attention in regard to Ezekiel is that he belonged to the line of priests descended from Zadok and Eleazar. This may have two important consequences. It may help to explain why he does not mention Jeremiah and why we notice Samaritan tendencies in his writing. First the absence of any mention of Jeremiah in spite of the fact that Jeremiah's ideas are borrowed has been likened to the fact that though Jeremiah used the ideas of Hosea he likewise does not mention him by name. But there may be this further reason for absence of Jeremiah's name. Jeremiah belonged to the priestly line at Anathoth who were descended from Abiathar, banished there by Solomon for participation in the revolt on behalf of Adonijah recorded 1 Kings 2^{26-27}. Hence Ezekiel who belonged to the rival line of priests and glorified the Zadokites to the exclusion of the other lines of priests[1] would have another reason not to mention Jeremiah by name. The absence of any mention of Jeremiah's name can hardly be an argument in support of a late date as Torrey uses it. Secondly, if we accept the fact that the later Sadducees were descended from the Zadokites we may expect in Ezekiel a kind of incipient Sadduceanism which would dispose him to a friendliness with the Samaritans if they could help Judea.

1. Ezekiel 40^{46}, 43^{19}, 44^{15} and 48^{11}.

This friendliness to the Samaritans can be seen in various different ways. "Any one who studies his description of the Temple to be and the place in which it is to be erected in the future, will find that he rejects Jerusalem and selects a central spot in Palestine, which could be Sichem or Mount Garizim." They will observe also "the curious definition of the geographical boundaries which agree with those found in the Samaritan Hebrew Book of Joshua."[1] We would further notice that the legal code of Ezekiel has affinities with the Samaritan as distinct from the strictly Jewish code. What induced the prophet to suggest the removal of the Temple northwards from the site in Jerusalem where many believed was the only lawful sanctuary for sacrifice? Perhaps like all the Hebrew prophets, he thought that city-life was the root of sin, and longed for the purity of his race's past nomad days. Perhaps it was a gesture of friendship to North Israel in his plan to cement again into one nation the divided kingdoms of the Hebrew nation. Perhaps he was a politic spirit, and hopeless for the future of Jerusalem he thought it would be easier for the Judeans to become loyal to a new temple than to transfer their loyalty to the formerly hated rival temple on Mount Gerizim.

Torrey is surely wrong when he says, "The prophet's picture is not in the least concerned with the inhabitants of the northern territory in his time. On the contrary we read in 37^{21} I will take the children of Israel from among the nations whither they are gone,

1. M. Gaster. The Samaritans London 1935 p. 138-9.

and will gather them on every side and bring them into their own land; and I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel: and one king shall be king to them all..... The 'one king' over them verse 24 proceeds to say, will be the ruler of the southern dynasty, 'my servant David'."[1] He is making a false emphasis that David was of the southern dynasty, for David was regarded as the great warrior king of the undivided kingdom, and hence one especially suitable to be named as the one king of the re-united countries. There is nothing anti-Samaritan in the idea of the one king being a new David.

But if we look at the allegory of Chapter 23 which speaks of Judea and Samaria as the two equal wives of Jahweh we can find therein no trace of any idea of the uniqueness of Jerusalem and no insistence on its exclusive religious monopoly. Here we see in Ezekiel's words an ardent desire to unite "the two branches of the tree, and find him working passionately towards the unity of North and South. He apostrophizes Ephraim and his associates in the same terms as those in which he speaks of Judah and his associates, and urges them by the command of God that they should henceforth be as one in His hands. By word and symbol he works for unity. In vain would one search through all these writings for the remotest allusion to a strange population having occupied the Northern Kingdom, or peoples brought from distant parts of Assyria or Babylonia supplanting, even in the smallest degree, the old Israelites in faith or race."[2] One feels as one considers these facts so damaging to Jerusalem as the sole true sanctuary for Hebrew religion that Torrey

1. J.B.L. "Certainly Pseudo-Ezekiel", 1934. Vol 53. p. 301
2. M. Gaster. op.cit. p. 12-13

must explain them before we could accept his position.

(12) Pseudepigraph.

Torrey would make us believe that the Book of Ezekiel is a pseudepigraph written about 230 B. C. and some thirty years after altered into a prophecy of the Babylonian exile. We must examine the evidence without prejudice - and in doing so disclaim any fear that the value of the Book would be destroyed if it were a pseudepigraph. We have a pseudepigraph already in the sacred Scriptures, the book of Daniel, and in that case the religious value is increased when we understand the true nature of the book. If Ezekiel is a pseudepigraph its value will be different from its value as an actual prophecy and its value might be even greater than at present. Our only task is to examine the evidence. A true pseudepigraph becomes luminous as soon as its date is discovered, at once its meaning and message to its contemporaries becomes apparent. This is not the case with Ezekiel, when it is dated about 230 B.C. Also as we cannot accept Torrey's denial of the "Return" from Babylon, its alteration to a Babylonian setting at that date has no apparent reason. As we examine the statements of the book itself we find certain things that ought to cause us to be on our guard. Errors of fact in past history that could easily be proved by readers are infrequent. Yet in this book glaring misstatements are made according to Torrey: "We know that Ezekiel's forecast of the future introduced by 'Thus saith the Lord', was not infallible. He prophesied in 29$^{10-12}$ that Egypt would for forty years be utterly uninhabited (apparently an

exaggeration of Jeremiah 46[19]); in 26[14,21] that Tyre would not only be completely destroyed by her besieger, but would never be rebuilt, and some other details in his prophecies in regard to foreign nations are likewise inconsonant with the reality."[1] No writer of a pseudepigraph in 230 B.C. could possibly have included in a book he hoped would win popular acceptance such glaring disagreements with known history. He would be writing in a day when the Seleucid power was strong and the statement that it was to be laid waste by the innocuous Northern Kingdom would be a matter for derision. The writer of the Book of Ezekiel shows however an accurate knowledge of the history of the time when in 29[17-20] he shows that Tyre fell after a long siege and that Nebuchadnezzar got little booty in the city when he took it. Because of his loss there the prophet says Nebuchadnezzar will turn south and conquer Egypt. "Nebuchadnezzar did not actually invade Egypt until his 37th year (568/7) as we know from a fragment of a Nebuchadnezzar Chronicle, but his preparations must have begun with the capture of Tyre. That Tyre actually fell, as presupposed by Ezekiel's oracles, is now certain, thanks to contract tablets and an official list, which have been recently studied by Ungnad..... Ezekiel's allusion to the unsatisfactory result of the long blockade of Tyre simply means that the Tyrians had removed all their wealth, so that the Chaldeans obtained no spoil worth recording."[2] The effect of a study of Ezekiel's words concerning Tyre leaves upon us the impression that they are the words of a contemporary.

1. Ibid p. 81
2. Albright "The Seal of Eliakim etc." J.B.L. Vol 51. 1932 p.95

The mention of Daniel by Ezekiel is another reason for giving the prophecy a late date according to Torrey. "In Ezekiel $14^{14,20}$ Daniel is mentioned between Noah and Job as one of the three foremost saints of Israel; and again in 28^{3} as the type of wisdom."[1] He says that this is usually explained by the statement that Job and Daniel must have been familiar in tradition and story as early as the sixth century B.C. although literary reference to them occurs much later. As this presupposes two such cases in one reference Torrey considers this too much to ask people to accept. There is one thing that has escaped the attention of Torrey namely that Ezekiel spells Daniel not as it is spelt in the book of Daniel but without the . Hence there is some reason to expect that he is referring to someone else other than the biblical Daniel. This has now been proved to be the case. "In Ezekiel $14^{14,20}$ and 28^{3} Daniel is mentioned, in such a way that the allusions to him must obviously be long posterior to his life. In the first two passages Ezekiel speaks of any land, and expressly (4.v. 21) indicates that he means non-Israelite land. The three righteous men, whose uprightness could not save such a land, when as faithless as Israel had been, are Noah, Daniel and Job. The context requires non-Israelites, as is true of Noah and Job. The third passage addressed the king of Tyre with the rhetorical question, 'Art thou wiser than Daniel?' Modern commentators have seen that the Daniel referred to in these passages cannot possibly be the

1. Ibid p. 98

biblical Daniel, but was presumably a non-Israelite hero and sage of the remote past, one who was known to the Phoenicians as well as to the Israelites (S O Bertholet.) That this view was correct is now certain, thanks to the discovery of the Alein epic at Ras esh-Shamaah in Northern Phoenicia."[1] This epic has now been published with a translation and commentary by Charles Virolleaud.[2] As a result of this study it can be said, "Le personage n'a rien de commun avec le voyant legendaire Daniel, qui appartient a la litterature de basse epoque, celle du temps de' Antiochus Epiphane."[3] Thus archaeology has disposed of one imposing statement made by Torrey, it has dealt in a similar manner with his statements in regard to the mention of Persia.

"The mention of Persia (Paras) in 27^{10} and 38^{5} is a famous puzzle. How could Ezekiel make this casual mention of the Persians before that people had made its appearance in the stage of history?"[4] But archæology has brought to the light of day a mention of the Persians on the stage of history a half-century before the usually accepted date of Ezekiel. Two new inscriptions of Ashurbanipal tell how Cyrus the elder, king of Persia sent his eldest son with tribute to Assyria about the year 640 B.C. Neither the mention of Daniel nor the Persians would require the late date for Ezekiel that Torrey would try to make them prove.

1. Albright J.B.L. ibid p. 99
2. La legende phenicienne de Danel. Paris, 1936
3. Syria Tome xciii 1937 p. 105
4. Torrey - ibid p. 84

There is in Chapter 8[17] in the description of the abominations practised in the temple the phrase, "they put the branch to their nose." This claims Torrey is a clear reference to Persian ritual, and can refer to nothing else. How could Ezekiel in the sixth century do so? Spiegel has no difficulty in pointing out that even if we can be sure we know the meaning of the obscure passage, Ezekiel could have been aware of a ritual similar to the later Persian rite. "A Scythian battle axe of the seventh century B.C. disinterred in Kelermes on the Kuban River and now in the museum of Leningrad, is ornamented with the figure of a worshipper whose mouth is screened with the paitidana and who holds in his hand a bundle of rods, the baresma."[1] The date of the Scythian incursions into Palestine are given either as 625 B.C. or around 592. If then the zemorah be a plain reference to the baresma, that reference is certainly apt and timely in Ezekiel of the received date. Even if this were not so a verse which varies so in the translations is a precarious basis for the theory of late origin. The Septuagint is αὐτοὶ ὡς μυκτηρίζοντες as if they were turning up their noses in mockery, the Syriac gives ' snorting with their noses', and the Targum paraphrases, 'they bring forth the stench to their noses.'

The omission of any mention of Jeremiah although Ezekiel constantly shows knowledge of that prophet's ideas, is an indication to Torrey that the book is a pseudepigraph in which the writer remained true to Ezekiel's historical position in the reign of

1. Spiegel. "Ezekiel" J.B.L. Vol 54. 1935. p. 153.

Manasseh. Jeremiah's name is not mentioned because he "had not yet appeared upon the scene."[1] It would have been impossible to write at any time during the life of Jeremiah the words of Ezekiel Chapter 22^{30} " And I sought for a man among them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none." How asks Torrey could anyone write that in the year 625 - 586 B.C. when Jeremiah was a prophet in Jerusalem? Has he forgotten those periods of silence and imprisonment in the life of Jeremiah? And if the words do refer to the intercession of a prophet for the people, was not that forbidden to Jeremiah according to his own testimony in Chapter 7^{16} "Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for the, neither make intercession to me: for I will not hear thee." When on two occasions Chapters 21^{2} and 37^{3} the prophet was asked to intercede for the people by messengers of the king, his reply was a stern message of denunciation and doom. He did not intercede. Ezekiel's statement might well be made while Jeremiah was in Jerusalem.

We may claim to have shown that the evidence that the book of Ezekiel is a pseudepigraph is of little cogency. Further the new archæological discoveries make some of the obscure references in the book more suitable at a date around 600 B.C. to 550 B.C. than at any other period. There are Samaritan tendencies in the book, the importance and meaning of which will be further discussed in reference to Dr. Smith's claim that Ezekiel was a Northern

1. Torrey Pseudo-Ezekiel. p. 70.

prophet. We take it now as certain that the date of Ezekiel is around the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The question of the Locale of the prophet will be discussed at length in a later chapter when we hope to show that Torrey's position in this matter is correct. Certainly his incisive study of the prophet places every investigator in his debt.

Shalom Spiegel and Pseudo-Ezekiel

Shalom Spiegel has in the main developed his ideas concerning Ezekiel as a criticism of Torrey. He has written two articles on the subject of Ezekiel.[1] In both of these the Jewish tradition concerning Ezekiel receives a very full treatment: as Spiegel is a first class rabbinical scholar his writing merits our attention. We have already quoted from Spiegel hence our outline of his position will be briefer than otherwise it would have been.

Spiegel gives an accurate and long account of the Jewish tradition. He is acquainted with the fact that the Jewish rabbis had serious difficulty in allowing the Book of Ezekiel to be included in the canon of Scripture. There were two reasons for this, the deviations of the laws of Ezekiel 40-48 from the Mosaic Torah and the description of the chariot in the first chapter. The rabbis were afraid that the strange vision of Chapter 1 would give rise to esoteric doctrines on the mysteries of the Godhead. To avoid this they

1. "Ezekiel or Pseudo-Ezekiel" in H. T. R. Oct. 1931.
"Toward Certainty in Ezekiel". J. B. L. 1935.

warned Jews, especially the young, not to read it.[1] They accepted the risk of the book being read with their approval on the advice of Hananiah ben Hezekieh. "Confiscation of objectionable literature, in ancient as in modern times, has always resulted only in securing a wider publicity."[2] It was also the work of Hananiah ben Hezekiah to reconcile the halakhic difficulties of the book. The earnestness with which Hananiah worked and the earnestness with which the rabbis discussed the difficulties are a proof very convincing that they believed the book the authentic work of the prophet. If we notice in addition the Samaritan sympathies and the theological offenses, such as Chapter $20^{24ff.}$, we cannot but conclude that the Rabbis were convinced of the authenticity and integrity of the Book of Ezekiel. The passage Ezekiel 20^{24-26} is a daring piece of theology, in which the prophet says that because of their sins God misled His people to their own undoing in order "that they might know that I am the Lord." Torrey would make the Hebrew rhetorical questions and thus escape the difficulty. This is too facile.

Spiegel sums up his conclusions on the Jewish tradition thus: a Jewish rabbi "would easily have found out that Ezekiel's is not altogether a scripture 'profitable' for religious instruction in the synagogue: it contains flagrant contradictions with the words of the Torah, and some of these contradictions were held by the best minds of rabbinism forever unsolvable: it gave rise to esoteric

1. cf. H.T.R. p. 262 note 23
2. ibid. p.263.

occult speculations forbidden by the synagogue; it lent spiritual support to the Sadducean heresy and to even more sectarian teachings, leading, as in the case of the Damascene schism, to formal secession from Rabbinic Judaism: it was capable of supplying a deadly weapon to the rival church at Shechem which questioned the uniqueness of Jerusalem and its sole claim to genuine religious tradition: in addition it bristles with grave theological offenses. How overwhelming must have been the attestation of the prophetic authority and authenticity of Ezekiel, if, if spite of such serious doubts and dangers, the ancient rabbis admitted his book to the canon."[1] This is a fair statement of the first impression of the evidence. There is however no explanation given of the tradition that Ezekiel's prophetic activity began in Palestine. We might believe that this tradition arose because the Jews found it too difficult to believe that the prophetic call could have originated save on Palestinian soil. But on the other hand if the rabbis kept to the fore the fact that Ezekiel was a prophet in Babylon, they would cast some doubt in Jewish minds on his authority as a prophet. This would help in keeping under control the dangers of reading this book of prophecy. When Spiegel returns to the study of Ezekiel in 1935 we find the following interesting statement in regard to this same matter.

"We have again too easily dismissed the statement of the rabbis that the arrangement of chapters in the book of Ezekiel is often due

1. Ibid p. 281

to symmetrical rather than historical considerations, and that the prophetic career of Ezekiel began in the Holy Land. Too facilely we suspected here a theological evasion rather than a reminiscence of utterances, spoken on Palestinian soil, and directed to a Palestinian audience, and possibly still preserved in the book of Ezekiel..... It deserves serious study and consideration whether some of the sermons, denouncing the revolt against Nebukadrezzar and predicting the fall of the city, were not composed in the days of Jehoiakim while the prophet was still in Palestine."[1] The present writer has felt for a long while that Ezekiel has been changed into a prophet wholly of Babylon in order that his authority might in some way be undermined. His conflicts with the Mosaic Torah could not be reconciled, hence something had to be done.

Spiegel has refuted with great learning and acute reasoning Torrey's claim that the book of Ezekiel is a pseudepigraph. Much of his material we have already used in our own criticism of Torrey. We will not repeat it, but would notice his suggestion concerning the date found in Ezekiel 1^1. He regards this verse as misplaced, the remnant of a vision recorded originally in the book but now suppressed and lost. To this question also we will refer in a later chapter.

The position Spiegel supports is that Ezekiel prophcsied in Babylon in the years before and after the fall of Jerusalem in

1. Shalom Spiegel J.B.L. Vol 54. 1935. p. 170

586 B. C. He states that he is not sure whether truth will not be found in the suggestion that the prophet's first oracles were delivered in Jerusalem. In this suggestion we would believe the solution of the Ezekiel problem lies, rather than in his other idea, "the occasional (for only such it is) incongruity of the prophecy with the setting assigned to it, may be thus incidental only to a false exegesis or dating - of which the prophet is entirely innocent."[1]

James Smith - Ezekiel a Prophet of the Northern Kingdom

The next study[2] of Ezekiel was already in the press when Torrey's book was published. At the end of the author's preface occurs the statement; "He was unable to refer to Professor Torrey's Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy, as his book was in the press prior to the publication of Dr. Torrey's work." We emphasize this fact in order that we might draw attention to the independence of these two investigations into the Book of Ezekiel. Some of the conclusions of both works are arresting in their similarity. In both Ezekiel is put back into the reign of Manasseh and his locale is Palestine. But Smith differs from Torrey in that he does not think the book a pseudepigraph but a genuine book of the oracles of a Northern Israelite prophet of the days of Manasseh later altered into the work of a Judean prophet of the Babylonian exile. Ezekiel was a prophet of North Israel like Hosea and the city about which he prophesied was not Jerusalem but Samaria.

1. Spiegel: ibid p. 170
2. The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, A New Interpretation by James Smith, London, 1931.

Dr. Smith after an introductory chapter draws attention to the problem of the book. This he regards primarily as the fact that though the interest of the first thirty-seven chapters is mainly in the fate of people living in Palestine, yet the Babylonian origin has hardly been called in question. It has been noted by commentators that Ezekiel is pictured as preaching not to his audience but to people many handreds of miles away. One way of evading the difficulty is to suppose that Ezekiel did not speak his oracles but committed them to writing. Literary analysis of the book usually concludes that these oracles were spoken. There are the numerous symbolic actions; the reference on several occasions to an audience, the fact that Ezekiel claims prophetic visions denying the validity of the visions of the false prophets and other characteristics necessitate an audience to whom his words were addressed. Of course it may be that when he wrote the prophet simulated a present audience, but many of his oracles convey the impression that they must have been spoken to people actually before the prophet.

Referring to the exact method of dating his oracles, Smith goes on to point out that even though Ezekiel were an exile it does not follow, that all his prophetic activity was in the exile. He may have been a prophet in the home land before he was taken in captivity. A reading of Ezekiel's oracles suggests a Palestinian background, and not a few commentators have wondered why he has so little to say of the condition of the exiles to whom he was speaking.

Ezekiel betrays an exact knowledge of the conditions in Palestine, but gives no information concerning the exiles. To explain the detailed knowledge of the conditions in Palestine by Ezekiel in Babylon recourse has been made to the gift of "second sight." Here James Smith has a very cogent statement: " Against the view that Ezekiel was psychically abnormal, it must be urged that his prophecies give the impression of being the work of the most practical of men; and, on psychological grounds, it is difficult to accept the theory of second sight as there is no other instance of anyone with the gift of second sight going into such detail."[1]

The next question to be answered concerns the picture of apostasy given by Ezekiel possible in the period between the first and second captivities of Judah. Not if the reformation under Josiah were a success. But our information on this point is deficient. Smith however thinks that we have certain data which makes a reaction after Josiah's death unlikely. Jehoiachim continued his father's religious policy, and Jeremiah's temple address is directed against a false reliance upon the Temple and not against any desecration of its worship. Hence Smith concludes, a pre-Josianic date is natural and he goes back as Torrey does to the reign of Manasseh as the most suitable period for Ezekiel's prophet activity. He refers also the significant statement in the Talmud that Ezekiel had been a prophet in Palestine.

Then follow two chapters entitled "Non-Babylonian Oracles" and "Oracles of Doubtful Locale". Here is the best part of Dr. Smith's

1. Ibid p. 18.

work. The next question that Dr. Smith discusses has to do with his suggestion that Ezekiel was a prophet of the Northern Kingdom. This brings him to face some of the difficulties of the book and to answer them in a new manner. He finds that Ezekiel was a northern prophet of the reign of Manasseh. How does he come to this conclusion? He asserts that the phrase house of Israel means the northern kingdom as a study of Chapter 4^{1-6} will show. Other passages[1] which distinguish the 'land of Israel' and and 'house of Judah' would point to the same conclusion. There are other indications of a northern origin[2], the idolatries of Chapter 6 are more characteristic of the Northern; the prophecy against false prophets in Chapter 13 presupposes a Northern rather than a Southern climate; the simile of the vine in Chapter 15 was used before by the northern prophet Hosea; in Chapter 16 a northern tradition of the Amorite origin of Jerusalem is found; in Chapter 23 the sin of Judah is more grievous than that of Israel. These and various other similar indications of a Northern origin of the prophecy are reinforced by a study of the language. Foreign borrowings are numerous. The religious prejudices of a Jahweh priest in Babylon would influence him to separate himself and his language from his environment, and would help to keep his Hebrew pure. If however Ezekiel was a northern prophet, there need be no surprise if his language is strongly influenced by Aramaic. In the North

1. 9^{9}, 21^{25}, 25^{3}, 27^{17}, 37^{16}
2. Ibid p. 57 ff.

the influence of Aramaic was earlier and more pervasive than in the South. Words and phrases occur in the book which clearly indicate the North, as do the Samaritan tendencies we have already discussed, particularly the placing of the new temple in a position that to the unbiased mind has but one interpretation the mountain land of Ebal and Gerizim. Smith comes to the conclusion: "The cumulative evidence which has been given appears to the writer to provide an unanswerable argument in favour of the theory that Ezekiel was a North Israelite, and that the appeal of his book was directed to the North Israelite community."[1]

A study of the oracles against Ammon, Moab, Edom and Philistia indicates that they do not fit the situation after 586 B. C. They are relevant to the time of Esarhaddon as are also the oracles against Egypt and Tyre. Smith says they belong to that period and regards the references to Nebuchadnezzar as interpolations by an editor desirous of making Ezekiel belong to the Babylonian exile. Smith would place these oracles around 700 B.C. and refer the phrase "the captivity of Judah" to the prisoners of Sennacherib in the time of Hezekiah. There is no oracle against Babylon. Why? The interpolator in the book of Ezekiel made as few interpolations as he had to. The explanation of the absence of oracles against Babylon is simple: "Babylon had not yet appeared as a great world power at the time of the delivery of these oracles."[2]

The conclusion to which Dr. Smith comes is that Ezekiel prophesied in Palestine, and later continued his prophetic work in exile.

1. Ibid p. 71

2. Ibid p. 79

Only three oracles presuppose an exilic audience 20^{32ff}, 36^{16-32}, 37^{11-14}, but some other oracles named already as of doubtful locale may belong to the exile too. A redactor gave by a few judicious interpolations a Babylonian setting to the whole book. The activity of the real Ezekiel "commenced about 722 either amongst the Northern exiles or in the homeland and (that) he continued his prophetic labours until c.669 in Palestine or alternately in Palestine and among the northern exiles."[1]

Such in outline is Dr. Smith's reconstruction of the book of Ezekiel. Taken with the fact that its conclusions were arrived at independently of Torrey's, one is impressed with their stress on the non-exilic origin of many of the prophecies of the book. But can we accept Dr. Smith's conclusions?

Criticism

Smith is unquestionably right in his assertion that the majority of the oracles in the book of Ezekiel presuppose a Palestinian audience. While a few "Fernsprüche" might be allowed, we cannot believe that any prophet would almost always address a distant audience. Also unless the symbolic actions were performed, they are largely futile. He is right also in his assertion that though Ezekiel were an exile, it does not follow that all his prophecies are of exilic origin. It is however when he would explain the difficulties of the book by referring it to the work of an Israelite prophet during the time of Manasseh, that we cannot follow him.

1. Ibid p. 98

What are we to think of the Jewish tradition of Ezekiel as a prophet of the Babylonian exile,[1] coupled with the allusions to the fact that his call took place on Palestinian[2] soil? What also are we to think of the Samaritan silence, if a northern prophet's book was altered to a prophecy of the Babylonian exile? The book of Ezekiel supports the importance of the transmission through the "exile" and "return", of Jewish authority and hence would not have been surrendered without gainsay by the Northern community. Tradition is definitely against the idea that Ezekiel was a northern prophet.

Much also depends on the question of the success of Josiah's reformation. The evidence that Smith brings forward to prove that it was successful is meagre and can hardly cover the period after 596 B. C. when we believe the resurgence of foreign abominations would reach its height. The fact that Jeremiah was attacking something quite different does not disprove the existence of the abominations Ezekiel mentions. Jeremiah's attack included a temple whose ritual was purified, much more a temple in which there were abominable practices. It would seem that we really have insufficient data, outside Ezekiel, to judge whether the reformation under Josiah were successful or not.

When Smith deals with the language he mentions certain peculiarities which indicate that Ezekiel was a prophet of the North. "For example, he used the form ²בֹּא (36[13]), characteristic of the

1. Mekhilta B o i b: Targum Ezek. 1[3]
2. Ibid. cf. Mo'ed Katan 25a. Mek., Shirah. 7.

Samaritan Pentateuch, and found only in writings connected with the North, save here and in Jeremiah 4^{30}." [1] Nine times in Chapter 16 the second person singular of the verb occurs in the form תִּהְיִי. He uses אַחַת indefinitely, which is also a Northern dialectic peculiarity. Smith has noted that Jeremiah also used the first dialectic peculiarity: we note also the use by Jeremiah of the same ending for the second person singular as is used by Ezekiel nine times in Chapter 16, namely Jeremiah 2^{33}, $3^{4,5}$, 31^{21}, 46^{4}. Is therefore Jeremiah a northern prophet too? "It can be shewn on the other hand that the use of ש (= אשר), given by Dr. Driver as an illustration of the way in which 'the language of North Israel differed slightly from Judaic Hebrew' (approximating in this particular to the dialect of Phoenicia) is never used by Ezekiel." [2] Not only is this so but we find scattered throughout the book of Ezekiel ' a considerable number of words for which no other derivation is known but the Babylonian environment: for example, agappu (seven times in Ezekiel 12^{14} etc.), elamu (40^{16-36}) nadanu (16^{33}) Šigaru (19^{9}), mesu (16^{4}) ūzubu (27^{12}), not to mention others." [3] As Spiegel says this number can be extended, and if we were to include those words which point to a Babylonian origin we have a goodly number. There are however other Babylonian indications; Hölscher [4] has pointed out that we have in Ezekiel phrases

1. Ibid p. 69
2. J.B. Harford Studies in the Book of Ezekiel:Cambridge 1935 p.35.
3. Speigel H.T.R. p. 304
4. Hölscher op.cit. p. 9.

which show the influence of Esarhaddon inscriptions, and that the phrase son of man is similar to the usage in the Gilgamesh epic. Van Hoonacker has asserted that the best explanation of the eschatological Chapters 38 and 39 is to connect Gog with the Summerian 'gug' which denotes darkness. Lastly one notices that Ezekiel seems to be acquainted with Babylonian mythology and uses it in the garden of Eden of Chapter 31, the mountain of God Chapter 28, and mentions also a heavenly messenger in 9^2 who is similar to the Babylonina Nebo. We may compare 9^2 to the words in the Gilgamesh epic "the mighty one who has the writing tablet in the girdle of his loins."[1] We cannot dismiss all this evidence of Babylonian influence as due to redactors, hence we regard it as valid evidence that Ezekiel was not an Israelite prophet of the reign of Manasseh.

Smith makes an important point of the meaning of the phrase 'House of Israel': this phrase he says, "appears to refer to the Northern Kingdom, and to have no reference to Judah."[2] Herrmann had stated that though 'House of Israel' may mean the Northern Kingdom as in 4^{4-6} its usual meaning in Ezekiel is Judeans.[3] "In 4-8 namlich bezeichnet "Haus Israel" Volk und Staat des ehemaligen Nordreiches im Gegensatz zu "Haus Judah" als Volk und Staat des Sudreiches. In 1-3 dagegen ist "Haus Israel" wie immer sonst bei Ez. die Bezeichnung der Judäer." In this Herrmann is correct as a study of the context of most of the oracles will show: the distinction between Israel and Judah is made at times, but on most

1. Cooke Ezekiel I.C.C. 1936 p.104.
2. Ibid p 56.
3. Commentary p. 31.

occasions the words indicate the same people. J. Battersby Harford has made a careful study of all the passages in which the phrase occurs and comes to the conclusion that the usual use of the phrase House of Israel is Ezekiel indicated Judah.[1] Smith's final argument for the Northern locale of the prophet seems to be as weak as his others. There seems to be no really valid support for his contention that Ezekiel was a member of the Northern Kingdom.

1. Harford op.cit. p. 31 and pp.93-101.

Chapter III

Ezekiel, Prophet in Jerusalem

Herntrich, Ezekiel a Jerusalem Prophet

Another interpretation of Ezekiel was suggested by Volkmar Herntrich.[1] In his book Herntrich gives a resume of the study of the Book of Ezekiel up to its treatment by Kittel, in his History of the People of Israel. This is followed by an examination of Torrey's position, after which Herntrich gives a detailed examination of the text in order that he may answer the question: where did Ezekiel prophesy? He uses the analytic work of Herrmann and Hölscher, but comes to a very different conclusion. Herntrich, like Torrey and James Smith, is impressed with the necessity of positing a Palestinian locale for most of the prophecies in Chapters 1-24. He has to deal with Sellin's contention that all the oracles of Chapters 2 - 24 are "Fernsprüche", and can be easily paralleled in the oracles against foreign nations in other prophetic books, but especially in the addresses to Zion from afar of Deutero-Isaiah. The question of "Fernsprüche" is rendered more difficult by the fact that most prophetic oracles are a 'word of Jahveh'. When God speaks there can be no question of distance, because the word of God can work from Babylon to Jerusalem just as well as from either Babylon or Jerusalem to foreign lands. Isaiah 52^{11} speaks of 'from there' in reference to Babylon, although the prophet himself was in Babylon. Only when the prophet in his own person becomes a word of God can it be determined to which hearers the oracle was spoken. At this point the addresses to foreign nations can be separated clearly from the prophecies to the Prophet's own people, and to a

1. Volkmar Herntrich Ezechielprobleme. Giessen, 1932.

definite audience. The prophet himself plays scarcely any part in the foreign oracles, there are no symbolic actions. There is no personal touch in the words. The prophetic oracles of Ezekiel to his own people do not belong to this category. He himself is a part of the divine word to his hearers. Jahveh accounces his word through the life of the prophet. How different is this from the "Fernsprüche" of Deutro-Isaiah. This fact of the identification of the prophet with his message is one of the strongest proofs that Ezekiel prophesied in Jerusalem. Sellin's resort to the idea of "Fernsprüche" is not relevant in the case of Ezekiel.

Herntrich gives an analysis of the text of the book of Ezekiel, in which he shows what he believes are the genuine utterances of the prophet Ezekiel and separates from them the framework of the Editor. The genuine Ezekiel was a prophet in Jerusalem and never went to Babylon as an exile; all his oracles except three are addressed to the 'rebellious house' of Jerusalem. Commenting on Chapter 12 in which the phrase 'in the midst of a rebellious house' occurs in the second verse, Herntrich says this passage affords clear evidence that the prophet was situated in Jerusalem. Otherwise the symbolic action is beside the point. It was a warning and a prediction to the people still in Jerusalem that their day was also near.[1]

As we read the book of Ezekiel there are no references to life among the exiles, there are no oracles against Babylon. Yet there is an intimate acquaintance with the life of the people in Jerusalem between the deportation under Jehoiakim in 597 B.C. and

1. Ibid. p. 97-99.

the fall of the city in 586 B. C. There is no question for Herntrich that Ezekiel prophesied in Jerusalem before the fall of that city in 586 B. C. His utterances have been placed in a Babylonian setting by an editor, anxious to enforce the divine lesson in the fall of Jerusalem and desirous also of encouraging the exiles to believe that Jahveh was still with them in Babylon as he had been in Jerusalem.

The initial vision of Chapter 1, the account of the translation of the prophet in the trance from Babylon to Jerusalem and his return in $8^{2,3}$ and $11^{24,25}$, and the similar journeys elsewhere in the book, are the framework of the editor. Herntrich has no difficulty in showing the psychological absurdity involved in the account of the death of Pelatiah as it was reconstructed by the editor. Pelatiah is said to have died when Ezekiel prophesied - therefore it must be that he heard the words of the prophet as he spoke. Ezekiel however was in Babylon and only present in Jerusalem in trance. Therefore we must suppose that not only was the prophet clairvoyant, but also that he could materialise his presence in the temple and utter the oracle which caused the death of Pelatiah. No modern scientifically minded person could believe such an absurdity. Here is clear evidence of redaction, clear proof that the Babylonian framework is not authentic.

The analysis of Chapters 1 - 24 gives the conclusion that the following oracles are the genuine work of the prophet Ezekiel,

Call of Ezekiel 3^{22-23a}, 2^{6} -- 3^{9}, 3^{10-15} editorial comment.

4 omit verse 6

5 1-4

6 1-7

7 the text is hopelessly corrupt.

8 1, 5-18

9 1-7,11a, 13.

12 -24.

Herntrich rejects Chapter 5^{5-17} because it is a composition of little worth, and what value it has is due to the presence of Ezekelian ideas which are better expressed elswhere.[1] With the rejected verses of Chapter 6 it is the same, 8-10 are later exilic additions; while though verses 11-14 correspond to verses 1-7 they give the impression of a later imitation.

Herntrich rejects the Chapters 33-48 as the work of Ezekiel because they are prophecies of weal whereas the genuine oracles of Ezekiel were prophecies of woe. He would regard Chapters 25-32 as a section inserted to bridge over the gulf between the two distinct parts of the prophetic book, namely Chapters 1-24 and 33-48. Herntrich does not examine these chapters in detail as they afford no evidence for or against his thesis that Ezekiel prophesied in Jerusalem, but he gives two general reasons for his rejection of them as the genuine work of Ezekiel.[2] The prophecies of Chapters 1-24 are passionate cries alive with humane feeling, Chapters 25-32 are poems in which the outer form is of more account than the content.

1. Ibid p. 85.
2. Ibid p. 110-111

In Chapters 1-24 we have a man at war with his own people, while in Chapters 25-32 we have a poet writing literary poems concerning the fate of Tyre and Egypt. Hence Herntrich thinks that a more adequate comparison of these two sections of prophecy, which almost lie in different spheres, is of no consequence to his purpose.

An examination of Chapters 33-39 would leave as original to Ezekiel Chapters 33, 38 and perhaps 38 and 39. But if so they were written in exile.[1] When we pass to Chapters 40-48 however we pass into a new world. The former ideal future is forgotten and the author's interest is in a practical exposition of a cultus for the new Zion. One who could draw up such a programme must have felt that the return from Babylon was near. This is in contrast to the hopes of Ezekiel 34-37 where there is no interest in the details of the restored community's worship. These and other observations confirm the idea that Chapters 40-48 were the work of a pupil of the Prophet.[2]

It is of interest to note that in these chapters the analogies with the entire Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26) are very numerous, but in Chapter 1-39 only affinity with Leviticus 26 is found. The "man" of Chapter 40[3], who cannot be Jahveh because Jahveh has brought the prophet there, is a typical angel-guide of the later post-exilic literature of Judaism. Any such intermediary between God and His prophet was unknown to the genuine Ezekiel. Herrmann had already seen that these chapters contained plans and thoughts for which no analogy can be found in the earlier chapters of the book. Kittel

1. Ibid p. 111-119 2. Ibid p. 120

recognises this but says that they can be reconciled by the period of years which lay between the writing of 40-48 and the earlier chapters. Herntrich questions whether it is psychologically possible to reconcile such opposite trends in one individual personality. This subjective objection is reinforced by certain other objective facts. A comparison of the Messiah of Chapters 34-37, which corresponds to already mentioned ideas of 17^{22-24} and 21^{32}, with the "Prince" of Chapters 40-48 is very instructive. The Messiah of Chapters 34-37 is an ideal figure, a new David, who will rule as the good shepherd in the kingdom of the future which Jahveh will inaugurate. The prince of 40-48 is not an ideal figure but a member of the community of the second Temple, the political head alongside of the high priest its spiritual head. The High-Priest has not yet his position of pre-eminence. In other words these chapters show an earlier stage in the evolution of the high-priesthood than the Priestly Codex. Herntrich thinks they were incorporated in the temple vision between 538 and 521 B. C.

If in Chapters 40-48 "Prince" refers to a concrete, actual, historical institution, does it follow that the passages in 1-39 in which the Prince is mentioned are post exilic? "Prince" is used thirty-three times and "king" thirty-seven times, but of these twenty-five refer to foreign kings hence twelve of a Jewish king. A study of these titles shows that Ezekiel did not avoid the title King, which was a later tendency. He would have used the title King as easily as prince in the passages of Chapters 40-48. But Ezekiel

himself had been the first to call Zedekiah a prince in Chapter 12[10] in order to degrade him. Hence he would hardly use the same title for an important person in his plan of reconstruction. With Ezekiel 21[30] (Hebrew text) there came the idea of changing king into prince wherever king was original. This is contrary to the idea of Ezekiel who rejected Zedekiah but remained loyal to the royal house. These chapters are clearly from another hand than Ezekiel's, but it cannot be said with certainty whether the same hand wrote them as penned Chapter 1 etc.[1]

The results[2] of Herntrich's work may be summarised in the following manner. The prophecies of woe in Chapters 1-24 are the work of a prophet who lived in Jerusalem in the years just preceding its fall. These prophecies have been edited in places during the exile when the dispersion of the Jews among the nations, which they mention, had already begun. These additions do not especially refer to the captivity in Babylon - they may be compared to the similar prophecies of weal in the Book of Jeremiah. Somewhat similar is the analysis of Chapters 34-37 and 38-39. There is no a priori objection to prophecies of weal in the words of Ezekiel, we must study each oracle itself to determine its integrity. Such a study gives the verdict that the genuineness of many oracles is either questionable or improbable.

This Jerusalem prophecy has been edited by an exilic redactor and clothed with a Babylonian setting. This setting has been

1. Ibid p120 - 124. 2. Ibid p124 - 130.

explained in the analysis of the book. The Babylonian editor is responsible for Chapter 1 and the ramifications of the call of the prophet in Chapters 2 and 3; his is also the fantastic conception of a trance journey by the prophet in Chapter 8-11; he introduces in Chapter 33^{21-23} the idea of the fugitive arriving in Babylon with news of the Fall of Jerusalem, and his in all probability is the plan of reconstruction Chapters 40-48.

There are two worlds in the book of Ezekiel. There is the world of the Babylonian redactor who surrounds the genuine prophecy with theosophical speculation in which he attempts to demonstrate the solity of his God over against the gods of Babylonian mythology. On the other hand, there is the world of the genuine Judean prophet who is akin to his great predecessors. In the words of the prophet we have the true prophetic vigour, but in the work of the redactor we have fantastic literature.

This reconstruction of the work of Ezekiel must have taken place in Babylon. How did the Babylonian redactor obtain the prophetic fragments of the Jerusalem prophet? Perhaps Ezekiel took them there, we do not know. We know no more of Ezekiel after 586 B.C. Chapter 33^{24}. We know that he outlived the fall of Jerusalem, but he cannot be author of the prophecies of weal. The prophet, Ezekiel, as all prophets, was in vital touch with the life of the people to whom he spoke, his prophecies of woe were vital arresting cries of the hour. On the other hand, the prophecies of weal are literary products of calm reflection by a man who has lost touch with the daily battle of life.

Death must have come to Ezekiel before he collected his oracles into a book, hence the Book of Ezekiel was the work of the Babylonian redactor, who was almost certainly himself one of the exiles with Jehoiakin in 597 B. C. Whether this reconstruction of the work of Ezekiel was the work of one man or of a school we can no longer decide. The latter alternative however appears to be the more probable. The purpose of the redaction is twofold. Chapter 14^{21-23} shows that the exiles were the approved "remnant" of Jahveh rather than the people still in Jerusalem. But also Chapters 1 and 9-10 show that God was active in Babylon as He had been formerly in Zion. These statements assure to the men of the captivity of Jehoiakin the spiritual trusteeship of Hebrew religion. Hence the redaction closed with a plan of reconstruction for the future which corresponded to the priestly predilections of the redactor. The date of the redaction we cannot give with certainty. We do not know what the historic importance of the actual Ezekiel had been - hence we cannot tell how long it would be necessary to wait for such a reconstruction to be acceptable to readers. But we feel it must have been not the beginning of the exile but a time when there was some hope of a return. To gain greater credence for such a hope, the redactor was at pains to show that the word of prophecy was not confined to Judean soil, for Jahveh had spoken to the prophet Ezekiel in Babylon. Such a reconstruction of a work in the Exile is not unique. The Book of Lamentations has been dealt with in a similar manner. To Horntrich, Ezekiel was a prophet in Jerusalem; a man in the midst of a bitter conflict, sometimes for

and sometimes against his fellow-citizens he comes to life again for us as one whose words were spoken with his own life blood in a day of crisis. This strenuous prophet of woe is to be distinguished in a decisive way from that strange cataleptic figure of the book whose conflicts are only fiction, whose living references are only apparent, whose symbolic actions are only stories and not acts. He is a man of monumental greatness who in a day when empires were crumbling and civilizations were tottering, knew that it was because Jahveh's judgment was at hand. He knew that beyond the tragedy men call history they would know that I am God.

Criticism: (1) Foreign oracles.

The first point of criticism we would make of Herntrich is his rejection of the foreign oracles, Chapters 25-32, as the genuine work of the prophet Ezekiel. He says that they are so diverse from the oracles of Chapters 1-24 in their treatment that he cannot believe they belong to the same writer. In the work of the genuine Ezekiel we have the anguished cry of the patriot at war with his own people, while in the oracles against foreign nations we have poems which are the result of careful skill, a man rejoicing over the fate of his country's foes. Could not such diverse work be very easily the work of one man? The cry of anguish concerning the fate of his own people can be conbined even in a prophetic soul with a strange joy over the fate of one's country's enemies, as we who have lived through the years of the Great War only too well know. Ezekiel himself was a part of the first oracles, he was condemned with his own people, for he was one of them. Naturally there would be more

feeling than in these oracles. He could well afford to take time to perfect his poetic art when he but sang of the fate in store for his country's foes because here he was but a somewhat detached spectator. Personally he was not involved in their judgment. Herntrich would have to bring forward some more important evidence than he does in his single paragraph to convince us that this section of the book is not genuine. There is nothing in the situation implied behind them to prevent us believing that the prophet Ezekiel composed these oracles. Hölscher even finds in them some of the most genuine of the prophet's poetic lines.

(2) The Prince

One reason for the rejection of Chapters 40-48 according to Herntrich is the use in them of the term "Prince". It would be well to study the use of the word "Prince" throughout the whole book, in order to see if we can make any deduction therefrom. We would first notice that the word "Prince" is used as the title of king Zedekiah in 12^{12} and of Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin in 19^{1}. Yet Jehoiachin in 17^{12} he calls king, in his ideal for the future $37^{22,24}$ Ezekiel uses the word king for the future ruler of the united and restored kingdom, although in 37^{25} he refers to this ruler as "David my prince." On the other hand, there are passages where the title "prince" is given to the head of the religious organization of the restored community. This is especially clear in Chapter 45 and in $46^{2,18}$ and 48^{21}:

There is a difference between the M.T. and G in the use of the title king. G seeks to avoid the title, it would seem, in an effort

to enforce the idea that Jahveh alone was king. In the G ὁ ἄρχων is substituted or οἱ ἡγούμενοι in reference to a Jewish king except only in the case of 17^{12}, where βασιλευς is used. All conclusions in regard to Ezekiel's usage must be based therefore on M. T.

7^{27} "Nasi apparantly means chief priest."[1] How can Smith make such a statement, without anything to support such a view? Was there a chief priest in Jerusalem to whom this title was given? Does not the use in this verse correspond to the use in 21^{17} and 22^{6}, where the word refers to the members of the royal household, the ruling caste?

12^{10} is said by Smith to have the same meaning for the title Prince. The verse is however open to question. The very mention of Prince seems premature and borrowed from 12^{12} where the reference is to Zedekiah.

$21^{30,31}$ Here again the word prince is used, and would seem naturally to refer to Zedekiah. The difficulty of the word translated "turban"[2] is that elsewhere it belongs not to the royal office, but to that of the priest. However it would be reading too much into this use of the word, to deduce that in this instance "prince" refers to the high priest.

26^{16} Here Ezekiel refers to the sea-kings as "all the princes of the sea." Such a usage is in conformity with his use of prince in a somewhat derogatory sense when speaking of the false king Zedekiah.

1. James Smith. op. cit. p. 118.
2. Cooke op. cit. p. 234.

27^{21} and 30^{13} contain references to foreign kings as princes, while 32^{29} uses the term "prince" in the general sense of 'members of the royal household.'

34^{24} contains a reference to David as the future Prince. Ezekiel does not anticipate a full restoration of the monarchy of David because he avoids the use of the title king. The restored nation would need a head, whom Ezekiel calls a shepherd prince.

38^{3} also mentions a prince, a chief prince. This is from a chapter which is not the work of Ezekiel. It need not detain us.

44^{3} in G prince occurs once - this is most probably correct. The text states that the Prince of the restored community can use the eastern gate of the temple. He only can use this gateway, to go into the temple there to partake of the sacrificial meal. "Unlike the kings of the past, the prince of the future has no priestly rights in the temple."[1]

When we notice the references to the prince in Chapters 45, 46 and 48, however the reference is to another figure. The person here designated 'Prince' is a member of the community of the second temple. His functions would seem to be religious, although 46^{2} refers back to 44^{3} in connection with the prince being the only one to enter by the Eastern gateway. However, the function of the two persons in each case is different.

There is then a use of the word "prince" in the later chapters of the book of Ezekiel which does not correspond to the usage in the earlier chapters. The same writer could hardly have used the title "Prince" as it is used in the genuine earlier oracles of

1. Cooke op.cit. p. 478

Ezekiel in a derogatory sense, and then used it for an important official in the restored community of the second Temple. Herntrich has rejected all 40-48, it is true for other reasons as well, all however the use of prince would necessitate is the rejection of Chapter 45, 46^{1-18} and 48 as the work of the prophet Ezekiel. This we are prepared to accept. We regard them as subsequent elaborations of the genuine portions of 40-48.

(3) Weal and woe.

Although Herntrich admits that it is not impossible for some of the genuine oracles of Ezekiel to contain hopes for the future, yet he uses this as one of the main arguments against the authenticity of the prophecies of weal in 33-39 and certainly against 40-48. He adds that we enter a new world in these last nine chapters, the world of the priest. Ezekiel had originally been a priest who had become a prophet - is it impossible that in later years the priest was concerned to fashion a cultus which would preserve the results of his prophetic work? It seems both possible and natural that in the altered circumstances of the exile, Ezekiel would alter his message to suit the new situation. When his prophetic task was accomplished, the priest resumed his labours.

In these ways we would criticise Herntrich, allowing a greater scope of activity to Ezekiel. But our indebtedness to Herntrich's clear statement of the locale of Chapters 1-24 is willingly acknowledged.

J. Battersby Harford supports Herntrich's position

After a clear account of the progress of the recent critical study of the book of Ezekiel, Battersby Harford in the later chapters

of his book[1] gives a short account of his own conclusions. Being in the main a follower of Herntrich, he has been convinced of the Jerusalem locale of the earlier oracles in the book.. Yet he evaluates correctly the work of Torrey in drawing attention to the fact that "in chapter after chapter the prophecies are addressed not to exiles, among whom he is supposed to be living, but to the inhabitants of Judaea and Jerusalem."[2]

First, Battersby Harford deals with the opening chapter, removing all reference to the captivity and the River Chebar as gloss. This leaves as the original beginning: ' and it came to pass in the (third) year in the fourth (month) in the fifth day of the month and the word of Jehovah came to Ezekiel, the son of Buzi the priest and the hand of Jehovah was upon him.' The point in favour of the removal of captivity references in this original vision is that when we come to Chapter 3^{15} we find that it was only when the Spirit of Jehovah "lifted me up and took me away," that "I came to them of the captivity at Tel-abib, that dwelt by the river of Chebar."

Harford discusses also the passage, Chapters 8-11, which in the present text form a unity. Most recent commentators would agree that there are interpolations in these chapters, but do not agree what exactly these interpolations are. Herntrich would remove in Chapters 10 and 11 only the visionary framework of a Babylonian Editor, and would remove from the beginning of Chapter $8^{3,4}$ except 3a as gloss, "verses 5-6 are the Divine Speech as given in the original,

1. Studies in the Book of Ezekiel. Cambridge 1935.
2. Ibid p. 23

and verse 7 speaks of the bringing of the prophet by natural means to the door of the court."[1] So Harford claims he could continue to show how an application of these clues will restore these earlier prophecies to a natural situation. They were addressed by the prophet Ezekiel to his fellow-countrymen in Jerusalem. He gives an indication of his thought.[2] Of Chapter 12 he says the symbolic actions are only appropriate if carried out in Jerusalem before 586 B.C. In Chapter 16 the 'use of the second person suggests direct speech to Jerusalem'. Chapter 17 shows an eye-witness of the events in Jerusalem during the time of Zedekiah. Verses 9b,10,16-18 seem to be glosses. Chapter 18 presupposes a pre-exilic situation, its three examples being Josiah, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah. Chapter 20 with its references to Topheth and to Canaanitish worship indicates Jerusalem as the scene. Chapter 21^{1-5} (E.V. 20^{45-49}) "The prophet can only look on Teman and the Negeb, if in Palestine." These are but starting points in a consideration of the various chapters, Harford continues such suggestions as far as Chapter 37. He gathers his position up in the two following statements:

"(1) The main body of the prophecies bears all the marks of delivery in person to the people in their own land, and it is possible to separate from them the passages which attribute them to a prophet living in exile in Babylon, who may or may not be Ezekiel himself.

(2) The vision of 1^{4-28b} with the later references to it and certain characteristic phrases (as in 40^{1-3}) are further clues which

1. Ibid p. 58 2. Ibid p. 58-61

serve to distinguish the later exilic Editor's work from the original pre-exilic prophet."[1]

Harford, next examines the last nine chapters, identifying the author of 40-42 with the Babylonian Editor of the pre-exilic and early exilic prophet Ezekiel. The ideal future outlined in Chapters 34-37 is ignored, we are in a realm where correct Temple ritual is an absorbing topic. God uses as an intermediary an angelic being. The Messiah is in Ezekiel 34-37 an ideal figure, a new David, but now the prince is the secular head of the congregation of the second temple, alongside the spiritual head. We have after Chapter 39 no more of the authentic notes of the great prophet Ezekiel. These chapters show a complicated structure and give evidence of the work of several hands. The passages mentioning the prince points to a date around 535 - 521 B. C.

Such are the indications that Harford would have one consider in dealing with the prophecies of Ezekiel. We would agree with his insistence on the earlier prophecies pointing to a Jerusalem situation, but we question whether Chapter 40-48 are completely non-Ezekelien.

Criticism:

Harford has given certain clues to an analysis of 40-48. He would separate the passages referring to the "prince", and dates them subsequent to Ezekiel. Ezra 1^3 would indicate Sheshbazzar as such a figure, and the Elephantine Papyri mentions "Ostanes alongside the High Priest and the Council of Elders."[2] Altogether the Prince passages of 40-48 have in view a date later than the exile. They are additions to the work of the prophet-priest Ezekiel.

1. Ibid p. 61

2. Harford op.cit. p. 64

Harford has noted the unity of 40-42, and has connected them with the vision of 1^{4-28} by common authorship. This connection we believe is due to the fact that the vision of 1^{4-28} belongs to Chapter 43 between v. 3 and v. 4, which is a continuation of the passage 40-42. The statement of Harford is in accordance with our identification of the true place for this vision in the book of Ezekiel.

The position of Harford is otherwise open to the same criticism as that of Herntrich and of Berry, which is to follow.

George R. Berry, the Book of Ezekiel a pseudepigraph.

Dr. George R. Berry of Colgate University has elaborated his position in regard to the book of Ezekiel in a number of articles, which he has contributed to the Journal of Biblical Literature since 1915.[1] Our first task will be to give a resume of his ideas. In his initial contribution Berry discusses only the question of the authorship of the Chapters 40-48 and comes to the conclusion that they are not the work of Ezekiel. He designates these chapters as second-Ezekiel, and then shows the contract they present both in thought and language, to the thought and language of Chapters 1-39, his first-Ezekiel.

"The thought of second-Ezekiel has no close resemblances to that of first-Ezekiel; and it has radical differences."[2] The first

1. G. R. Berry: "The Authorship of Ezekiel 40-48" J.B.L. Vol 34 1915. pp. 17-40
"Date of Ezekiel 45^{1-8} and $47^{13-48^{15}}$" J.B.L. Vol 40. 1921 p. 70-75
"Date of Ezekiel $38^{1-39^{20}}$". J.B.L. Vol. 41. 1922. p. 224-232.
"Priests and Levites" J.B.L. Vol. 42. 1923 p. 227-238.
"Was Ezekiel in the Exile" Vol. 49. 1930. p. 83.93.
"The Title of Ezekiel." J.B.L. Vol. 51. 1932. p. 54-57
2. J.B.L. Vol. 34. p. 17.

difference that is clearly evident is in the contrasted ideal future of the nation given in Second Ezekiel and in Chapters 34-37. The two pictures have nothing in common, Chapters 34-37 are prophetic while the ideal of 40-48 is entirely priestly.

The two parts of the book have a completely different messianic picture. The messianic portions of First Ezekiel are 17^{22-24}, 21^{32}, 34^{23-24}, 37^{24-25}, and in these we have the hope for a new kingly ruler, a new Davidic monarch. In second-Ezekiel we meet with the figure of the prince, whose functions are almost entirely religious. The word for prince occurs in first-Ezekiel, but as a political figure, sometimes the king.

The idea of sin-offering and guilt-offering so often mentioned in Second-Ezekiel are absent from First-Ezekiel.

There is a real contrast between the conceptions of holiness in the two parts of the book: First-Ezekiel while somewhat interested in the ritual idea of holiness is always ethical in its emphasis, but Second-Ezekiel is extreme even in the Old Testatment for its emphasis on ritual holiness, which suggests not only a different authorship but also a much later date for this writing. If we compare the ritual regulationsof Second-Ezekiel with those of P , we find that where their regulations are similar Second-Ezekiel is 'more elaborate, more rigid' than P and requires larger offerings or gives more detailed specification. The conclusion is forced upon one that Second-Ezekiel is later than P.

Berry next turns to the language of Second-Ezekiel. Basing his lists on those given by Driver in his Introduction, Berry obtains the

following results: "Resemblances in phraseology between first-Ezekiel and second-Ezekiel are comparatively few, and the differences are very numerous. Also, it will be observed that first-Ezekiel has numerous and striking resemblances to H, while these are very few in second-Ezekiel. Both parts of Ezekiel have resemblances in considerable number to P, but those which have to do with characteristic phraseology are much more numerous in first-Ezekiel than in second-Ezekiel."[1]

The use of אֶל for עַל found frequently in Second-Ezekiel is too common to be accounted for by textual corruption, which may explain the few cases in First-Ezekiel, but seems to point to later usage, especially when it is noticed that it occurs in certain phrases and not in others. כִּפֶּר is found in both parts of the book, in the first in its non-ritual sense, in the second in its meaning of atoning by legal rites. A different usage of the words for linen can be seen, while there are many words found only in Second Ezekiel. While First Ezekiel uses the syntax of classical Hebrew, in the Second Ezekiel unusual arrangements of words, awkwardly and loosely constructed sentences, and certain other details give the impression of late syntax.

The foregoing facts would point to a diversity of authorship between First and Second Ezekiel and to the theory that Second Ezekiel is much later in date than First Ezekiel. Next, it would be well to examine the unity of chapters 40-48 themselves.

1. J. B. L. Vol 34. 1915. p. 25.

Chapters 40-42 would appear to be the work of some one other than the author of 43-48. There is some evidence however which would seem to indicate that 43^{1-17} should be joined with Chapters 40-42.

Ezekiel 42^{20} regards what is outside the outer wall of the temple as profane, but 43^{12}, 43^{12}, 45^{4} regard that region as holy. This fact would separate 43^{1-17} from 40-42.

מִזֶּה — מִזֶּה is used in Chapters 40-41 to express the idea "on this side -- on that side." This use is unique in the whole Old Testament. The usual Hebrew phrase מִזֶּה —— מִזֶּה is found in Chapters 45-48, but neither phrase is used in first-Ezekiel. The usual usage of the preposition מִן with the article is that נ is not assimilated: this is the usage of second-Ezekiel apart from 40^{1}- 43^{17} where the unusual מִ is found fifteen times. Another unusual usage in this part of the book is אֲשֶׁר פָּנָיו קֵדְמָה instead of the more usual הַפָּנֶה followed by a noun in the accusative.

The section 40^{1} - 43^{17} is a vision in which the writer is led by a "man": the form of 43^{18}- 48 is not that of a vision, but the direct commands of Jahweh are given introduced by such formulas as "Thus saith the Lord Jahweh."

The natural conclusion is to divide Second Ezekiel into these two portions. A further analysis of the second portion would divide this again into two parts. The new unity is in 45^{1-8a}, 16-17, 21-25, $46^{1-12,16-18}$, 47^{13} - 48^{35}, in which the prince is the prominent feature. Nowhere else is he mentioned. The rest of the part 45^{18}-48^{35}

is mainly Levitical legislation, following P, and seems to be the work of a third writer.[1]

Not only is it necessary to divide Chapters 40-48 into their three separate parts, but a suitable date needs to be found for the . Many facts would point to a date in the Maccabean period.

The priests mentioned are the "sons of Zadok", and these are the only priests. In the legislation of P all the sons of Aaron are priests, and this was recognised at the return from exile. The "sons of Zadok" increased in importance, but it is not until Sirach immediately before the Maccabean period that they are spoken of as the only priests. Again the only Judges mentioned are the priests, this would indicate a time later than Ezra. The mention of crowds Ezekiel 46^{9} and their regulation at the feasts are in the manner of late Judaism and presuppose a large settled Jewish population in Palestine.

40^{1} - 43^{17} is a vision of the temple. The mention of two courts of the temple shows that it is not a description of Solomon's temple; it may however be one of Zerubbabel's temple. Its purpose would be either as a guide in building or repairing the temple. We know that there was a serious desecration of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B. C. This may be the occasion of these chapters, but a more suitable occasion would appear to be the time either 346 or 320 B. C. when the temple suffered considerable damage as Isaish 63^{7} - 64^{11} indicates. It would seem improbable that any considerable proportion of a prophetic book would date from the Maccabean period, hence Berry

1. J. B. L. Vol. 40. 1921. p. 74.

prefers the other date. But as he in his later contributions in the Journal of Biblical Literature maintains that some of the events referred to in 40-48 are of the late Maccabean period, his preference here[1] seems unusual.

Berry would suggest a date subsequent to 300 B. C. for 43^{13}-48^{35}. The background is not Maccabean, but the ideal treatment, as for example the plan of laying out the land which pays no attention to geographical facts, would suggest a period as late as the pre-Maccabean.

These two portions of the book of Ezekiel were written separately without reference to each other, but were combined soon after the second portion was written to form Second-Ezekiel. Second-Ezekiel was combined with First-Ezekiel by an editor probably about 200 B.C. There were certain similar phrases in the two books, and Ezekiel the prophet was a priest; hence the priestly plan of Second-Ezekiel might well be thought his work. This view of Second-Ezekiel may be in accord with the rabbinic saying 'the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel.'[2]

In his supplementary article[3] Berry examines 45^{1-8} and 47^{13}-48^{35} which deal with the distribution of the land. The order of the tribes in this distribution does not correspond to the original possession of Palestine nor to the arrangement at any known period of the Old Testament. Has this changed position of the tribes any known historical background? "The first evident fact concerning the changed

1. J. B. L. Vol. 34. 1915. p. 34.
2. J. B. L. Vol. 34. 1915. p. 40.
3. J. B. L. Vol. 40. 1921. p. 71.

distribution of the tribes is that those east of Jordan are accommodated in the region west of the Jordan. Another fact is not less striking, that Issachar and Zebulon, which had occupied the general region known as Galilee, are changed to a position in the south of the land."[1] It happened that during the time of Judas Maccabeaus after 165 B. C. he went to the rescue of Jews east of the Jordan and in Galilee and brought them away hence. In 129 B. C. John Hyrcanus reconquered the south of Palestine, the place to which Ezekiel transfers the tribes of Issachar and Zebulon. These and certain other indications induce Berry to conclude that this part of the book was written in Maccabean times, and to regard Second-Ezekiel as a production of the Maccabean period.

This analysis of Second-Ezekiel Berry has followed by an analysis of First-Ezekiel.[2] Not only are Chapters 40-48 later than the time of Ezekiel but large portions of the rest of the book are evidently later in date than the prophet. He first shows that the date of Ezekiel 38^{1} - 39^{20} was in all probability Maccabean.[3] Frequent incongruities, contradictions, literary interruptions, and variations in vocabulary with historical allusions to conditions later than Ezekiel mark the whole of Chapters 1-39. If Chapter 4 is examined as an example, its lack of unity is soon apparent:

v. 1-2 a graphic picture of the predicted siege of Jerusalem,
v. 3 - another unconnected picture, a later addition?

1. Ibid.
2. J. B. L. Vol 49. 1930. p. 83-93
3. J. B. L. Vol 41. 1922. p. 224-232.

v. 9a, 10, 11 continue from v. 2,
v. 4-8 are two pictures of exile - end of the exile is indicated and hope given,
v. 9b connects with v. 5.
concluding part of the chapter has no connection with the rest and is a later addition.

Chapter 1 upon analysis shows a similar lack of unity. This can be noticed in regard to the thought, parts are prophetic and parts legal. In these the thought is divergent, incongruous, and frequently contradictory. Reading קינה according to the Septuagint the message of Ezekiel in 2^{10} was to be "lamentation and mourning and woe.", with which the sweetness of the roll in 3^{3} is incongruous. This sweetness is not mentioned elsewhere. Ezekiel, like his great predecessors, Isaiah and Jeremiah, was a prophet of doom. The messages of hope in all three are later additions at a time when the sorry condition of returned Jewry would have been reduced to absolute despair by the reading of messages of doom without hope. Further these messages of hope often fit in ill with their context, they contain later historical allusions, have an Aramaic colouring in language, and are feeble in style. Except for 40^{1} they are also undated.

Was then this prophet of doom a man of the Exile? Berry gives four reasons against such an idea. First, a message of doom was not relevant to the exiles: secondly, his oracles are not addressed to the exiles, thirdly he shows no influence of a Babylonian environment, and fourthly, his original commission was to the people of Israel in Palestine. The special references which place Ezekiel in the exile are $1^{1,3}, 3^{11,15,23}$, $10^{15,20,22}$, $11^{24,25}$, 33^{21}, 40^{1}, 43^{3}; these can all be removed easily from their context without affecting the substance of the message. The activity of Ezekiel was between 597 and 586 because after the latter date the meaasages of doom did not need reiteration.

Why was Ezekiel put into the exile by an editor? After the exile the general condition of the people was one of great discouragement, and messages of doom but made their darkness darker, hence optimistic supplements were added to the prophecies of doom. These optimistic writers were usually in sympathy with the ruling priestly class and hence emphasised the centrality in the life of the Jew of the temple and its worship. This small remnant glorified the past of Judah and Jerusalem as was natural, but more so after the Samaritan schism, when the Samaritan claims had to be combated. Berry would see a suitable time for these additions to Ezekiel about the period of the Chronicler 250 B. C.: at this time First Ezekiel was so altered as to become a pseudepigraph, portions of it being definitely dominated by the spirit of propoganda. This spirit is evidenced in the predictions of the return of the Northern people in 37^{15-28}. It is conspicuous in 40-48 where the Babylonian origin of the plan for a new temple is emphasised. The allotment of the land to the tribes is not in accordance with history, but is in line with the emphasis on the importance of the true Israel coming down through the righteous few of the Babylonian exile.

Criticism

Berry's position merits careful examination because he has drawn attention to certain facts which must not be overlooked in a study of the Book of Ezekiel. First, can we allow his separation of the book into a first and a second Ezekiel? This separation is based upon differences in thought and language.

(1) The thought of Second-Ezekiel differs from First-Ezekiel in regard to the future. It differs because the future pictured in 34-37 is prophetic, whereas priestly interests dominate the future of 40-48. There is a measure of truth in this statement, but the differences are overemphasised by Berry. It is true as Herrmann[1] pointed out that in Chapters 1-39 Ezekiel is a prophet who can give priestly advice and is not primarily a priest. In Chapters 40-48 after his characteristic and productive prophetic period was over, the priestly interests of this man of priestly origin came to the fore. There is no contradiction in thought between these two sections of the book, Ezekiel even as a prophet cannot deny his priesthood, and later when his prophetic task was accomplished he turned his thoughts back to the beloved Temple of Jerusalem and its future. As Bertholet[2] has pointed out, the passage 20^{33-44} contains the genuine thoughts of Ezekiel and builds a bridge over which to pass to what is genuinely the work of Ezekiel in 40-48.

(2) Berry's second point that the picture of the Messiah in First-Ezekiel does not agree with the idea of the "Prince" in Second-Ezekiel is correct. Our position is however that the "Prince" passages are later interpolations and not by Ezekiel.

(3) Berry mentions certain words present in Second-Ezekiel such as sin-offering and guilt-offering as absent from First Ezekiel. This may be true and have no other significance than that Ezekiel had no need to mention them in his earlier chapters. When he was drawing up a programme for the cultus of the restored community, he would use

1. Commentary p. xx.
2. op. cit. p. 75.

cult words, of which formerly he had made no mention.

(4) Berry would maintain that the ideas of holiness in the two parts of Ezekiel are so diverse that dual authorship is made necessary. If we confine our attention to the parts of 40-48 that are original however, the contrast is not so marked. True Chapters 1-39 contain many striking and important parallels to Lev. 26^{3ff}: the list given by Driver[1] which is not exhaustive shows the dependence of Ezekiel on the Holiness code. This dependence shows that they are akin in spirit: they aim at the same goal. Ezekiel even when a prophet emphasising ethical holiness is concerned also about ritual holiness. His extreme emphasis on ritual holiness in 40-48 in no way contradicts his idea of ethical holiness.

We must insist that Berry does not use later interpolations in 40-48 to prove certain of his assertions. This is especially the case with the relationship between P and Ezekiel. The 'more elaborate, more rigid' regulations in Ezekiel are from these parts. One of the crucial points in the discussion of the relationship of P to Ezekiel is Ezekiel 44^{6-16}. Here the Levites are charged with going astray from Jahveh after idols, when the Israelites did so. The only faithful Levites, the sons of Zadok, were to retain their priestly rank. Those who had been unfaithful were to be degraded, they were to become 'keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein. (v.14).' This statement conflicts with P, as Driver says, "If Ez. then treats the Levites generally as qualified to act as priests, and degrades them to a menial

1. Driver Intro. to the Literature of the Old Testament. New York. 1931. p. 147.

rank, without so much as a hint that this degradation was but the restoration of a status quo fixed by immemorial Mosaic custom, could he have been acquainted with the legislation of P?"[1] Some of the additions to 40-48 may easily be later than P, but not the parts that are genuine.

(5) When he turns to the language, Berry bases his first conclusion on the word lists of Driver. It may be true that there are wide differences of phraseology between 1-39 and 40-48. This need not be due to a difference of authorship, but to a difference of subject matter. If we use Berry's argument we would deny Goethe's "Farbenlehre" to him because its phraseology is not the same as that of his Faust.[2] We cannot make the deductions that Berry does.

(6) The question of the use of ס for ש does not indicate a late date for Ezekiel. "A tendency is noticeable in Sam. Kings and especially in Jer. and Ez., to use ש in the sense of ס, and ס in the sense of ש. 'It is probable that this interchange, at least in many cases, is not original, but due to transcribers'. Oxf. Lex. 41a..... In the original text of Ez. ש and ס were distinguished, but by the beginning of the second century B. C. the soft sound of ש lost its force and became identical with that of ס. The Mass. text of Ez. belongs to the period of confusion."[3] We cannot base any conclusion concerning the date of the writing of the book on this evidence. The difference also in the meaning of כִּפֻּר is due, not to a difference of authorship, but to a difference of purpose in

1. op. cit. p. 140
2. cf. Kittel Geschichte des Volkes Israel III p. 146
3. Cooke. op. cit. p. 26, 27.

the places where it is used. When God is the subject of this verb, no ritual act is required but when man is the subject, expiatory sacrifices are implied. In P and perhaps in Ezekiel 40-48 the word is used in its technical sense of expiating sin by sacrifice. This use belongs on the whole to the later parts of 40-48.

We cannot therefore follow Berry in his division of the book into a First and Second Ezekiel. He has however certain pertinent suggestions concerning the analysis of 40-48 itself.

Ezekiel 40-42 with the addition of 43^{1-9} and perhaps up to the 17th verse form a section by itself as Berry remarks. Can we from the use of the unique הַקֹּדֶשׁ —— קֹדֶשׁ argue a separate author however? The fifteen occurrences of נָשִׂיא and the אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹכָם הֵמָּה while remarkable are in themselves insufficient to demand an author other than Ezekiel.

Berry would separate the sections concerning the "Prince", as he is nowhere else mentioned in the book, and he does not coincide with other ideas of the future Messiah which are present. He would separate as a third section that part which is in the main Levitical legislation, following P. Into the question of the date of these sections we need not go, as it does not concern our study. We would remark that a Maccabean date seems too late however for additions to any book in the prophetic section of the Old Testament canon.

Chapter IV

Ezekiel, Prophet in Babylon

Eissfeldt supports the old view of Ezekiel

Eissfeldt[1], after a short resume[2] of recent work on the book of Ezekiel, gives his own ideas on the subject[3]. First he would glance at the Book itself. This he says divides itself into three parts (1) Chapters 1-24 warnings uttered against Israel (Judah) and Jerusalem, (2) Chapters 25-32, prophecies against foreign peoples, in particular against Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, Tyre, Sidon and Egypt, and (3) Chapters 34-48 weal-prophecies concerning the new Israel, from which emerges in Chapters 40-48 the vision of the new temple and of the new Jerusalem and the new Palestine. This framework of the whole book is not the only indication that it is from the pen of the prophet himself. We have also a series of dated oracles which follow each other in apparently chronological order. These dates stretch from the date of the prophet's call in 1^2, the fifth day of the fourth month of the fifth year after the deportation of Jehoiachim, that is, 593 B. C., until the date given in 40^1 of the vision of the new Temple the twenty-fifth year 573 B. C. except that the interpolated oracle 29^{17-21} bears an even later date, the twenty-seventh year, or 571 B. C. Although some oracles are dated, the oracles between two dates do not follow an exact scheme; and the thought arises that many belong to other times and situations. Hence it is a question whether we have the original order of the prophet's oracles or whether it has been destroyed.

1. Eissfeldt, O. Einleitung in das Atle Testament. Tübingen. 1934.
2. Ibid p. 411-416.
3. Ibid p. 416-427.

If one can trust the present framework and allow the dates given to apply only to the immediately following prophecy we have the following succession of dated oracles and events.

(1)	Chapters 1^{1} - 3^{15}	-Vision at his call	Dated 5-4-5
(2)	Chapters 3^{16},4-5	-Symbolic actions indicating Fate of Jerusalem	Dated 12-4-5
(3)	Chapters 8- 11	-The ecstatic visions	Dated 5-6-6
(4)	Chapter 20	-The future Temple	Dated 10-5-7
(5)	Chapter 24	-Speech on the day of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem	Dated 10-10-9
(6)	Chapter 26	-Prophecy against Tyre	Dated 1-?-11
(7)	Chapter 29^{1-16}	-Prophecy against Pharaoh	Dated 12-10-10
(8)	Chapter 29^{17-21}	-Promise of the capture of Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar	Dated 1-1-27
(9)	Chapter 30^{20-26}	-Prophecy against Egypt	Dated 7-1-11
(10)	Chapter 31^{1-18}	-Prophecy against Pharaoh	Dated 1-3-11
(11)	Chapter 32^{1-16}	-Dirge over Pharaoh	Dated 1-12-12
(12)	Chapter 32^{17-32}	-Dirge over Pharaoh	Dated 15-?-12
(13)	Chapter 33^{21-29}	-Opening of the Prophet's Mouth	Dated 5-10-12
(14)	Chapters 40-48	-Vision of the New Jerusalem	Dated 10-?-25

Such an I-recension of the prophetic oracles would be no new thing in the prophetic books - we have it certainly in Zechariah but also in Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah. An exact scanning of these dates would indicate however that they are not in their original order. The prophecy against Tyre comes before the earlier dated oracle against Pharaoh. In addition no month is given for the Dirge over Pharaoh beginning Chapter 32^{17}, and we have a date next given which is earlier than

that of the first dirge in Chapter 32^{1}. The first inconsistency is easily explained. The prophecies against Egypt are recorded together - so the prophecy against Tyre was taken out of its chronological sequence and placed before the oracles against Egypt. But the second disturbance in the order of dates seems to point to the fact that there are two sets of dates, the one of oracles against Israel and Jerusalem and the other of oracles against foreign peoples.

Other observations can be made which make this supposition a certainty. Rothstein and Sellin have drawn attention to the fact that 33^{21-22} ought to follow 24^{26-27} immediately: both refer to Ezekiel's dumbness. There are only two short incidents 33^{1-9} and 33^{10-20} and the oracles against foreign peoples separating them. Hence the conclusion seems to be that the foreign oracles were not originally in their present position. Formerly there were two separate collections, one of oracles concerning Jerusalem and Israel and the other concerning foreign peoples.

If we would gain a picture of the first collection, we must make one more observation brought to our attention by Rothstein and Sellin. It is necessary to separate $3^{17-21,25,27}$, 4^{6-7}, and 3^{22-24}, $4^{4-5,9}$, 3^{26}. Then place 24^{26-27},44^{21-22} after the latter. 3^{16} is then the date of the symbolic actions of 4 and 5. This gives as the order of this part of the book, (1) Call of prophet and arrival at Tell Abib 1^{1} -3^{15}, (2) Command to act in symbolic fashion 3^{16},4-5, at the beginning and (3) at the end, announcement of dumbness and loosing from it 3^{22-24}, $4^{4-5,8}$ 3^{26}, 24^{26-27}, 33^{21-22}. It is to be observed further that all the

Jerusalem-Israel oracles are concrete, and not like the other oracles which are stories beginning with such phrases as "the word of the Lord came to me", "Put Thou Son of Man speak" etc. After this beginnin there follows the visionary journey from exile to Jerusalem in Chapters 8-11, and subsequently in Chapter 20 we have a tale which looks forward to the building of an exilic Temple. After this the first half of the book is closed in the fashion characteristic of Ezekiel. The second half is completed with the vision of the new Jerusalem in Chapters 40-48.

In Chapter 20 there is material that is not authentic, as has often been supposed, but one very important point is that in verses 40-44 of this chapter we have a section which definitely would point to the unity of the whole book. These verses with their negations demand a positive completion such as we obtain in Chapters 40-48.

There are but two exceptions to the hypothesis that every concrete narrative is dated in Ezekiel; they are 12^{1-20} and 14^{1-11}. Though these contain secondary elements, their genuineness is indisputable. Hence we draw the conclusion that either they originally were dated or else they came immediately after Chapters 4-5. If the latter is true, their transposition can easily be explained. Chapters 8-11 look forward to a deserted Judea and Jerusalem hence these narratives near in time to the city's fall were placed after them.

The same thing is noticeable in the I-passages in the oracles a ainst foreign nations. The dated ones have a definite situation in view. They are interspersed however with other oracles against

foreign nations which are general in character. Chapter 25 contains some of this character which we would regard as not belonging to Ezekiel, especially when we note their similarity with Isaiah 13-23 and Jeremiah 46-51. We would judge 28^{20-26} and 30^{1-19} as also not genuine because they are neither dated nor have they a definite historical situation in view. The other undated prophecies are without doubt genuinely Ezekiel's work; the only question is how they came to be placed in their present content. A definite reply is not possible. What we seem to have in the book of Ezekiel here is two separate collections of oracles against foreign nations the one in the form of a diary and the other a loose collection of similar pieces.

If we next examine Chapters 1-24 and 33-48 we find that the same phenomenon is there. The dated oracles are interspersed with numerous undated sections. These sections betray editing very clearly.

They are:

Chapters 6-7	Condemnation for apostacy.
Chapters 12^{21}-14^{11}	Impending doom.
Chapters 14^{12-23}	Doom of Jerusalem
Chapters 15	The Allegory of the Vine
Chapter 16	The Unfaithful wife.
Chapter 17	The allegory of the Vulture.
Chapter 18	God's individualizing Judgment.
Chapter 19	The allegory of the Lions.
Chapter 21	The Sword of Jahveh.
Chapter 22	The indictment of Jerusalem.
Chapter 23	The allegory of Samaria and Jerusalem.
Chapter 34	Indictment of the False Shepherds promise of the Faithful Shepherd.

Chapters $35-36^{15}$	Doom of Edom and Promises for the mountains of Israel.
Chapter 36^{16-38}	Promise of cleansing and salvation to Israel.
Chapter 37^{1-14}	Valley of dead-bones.
Chapter 37^{15-28}	Re-union of Israel and Judah under David.
Chapters 38-39	Gog and Magog.
Chapters 40-48	Certain passages.

Even though we recognize that there are many secondary elements in those passages, we can regard them as mostly genuine. 6-7 and 35^{1}-36^{15} are quite foreign to Ezekiel as are a few passages in 40-48 as are also a few in the collection 34-37. However we may quite easily see how after 587 B. C. Ezekiel would no longer be a prophet of doom but would become a herald of salvation. We have to reckon again with two recensions of Ezekiel's work one a diary of accurately dated oracles and a collection of a somewhat similar kind but not dated. After the combination of these two recensions other non-genuine narratives were included. These two recensions of the prophecies of Ezekiel would account for the doublets:

13^{11-12}	13^{13-14}
14^{4-5}	14^{6-7}
18^{21-24}	$18^{26-28,32}$

The complete book of Ezekiel is based on two diaries of Ezekiel, one concerning Israel and Jerusalem and the other concerning foreign nations. In addition Ezekiel left a collection of I-narratives of a more general nature and not dated. All these were combined in one book,

it seems, by another hand rather than by Ezekiel himself. The undated sections were appended to suitably dated oracles. This union of recensions into one book was followed by many an addition of a later writer. Hence in spite of these later non-genuine additions the book of Ezekiel affords a trustworthy picture of the prophet Ezekiel. He was a man subject to ecstatic seizures; he describes visions which remind us of the aerial journeys and ecstasies of the later apocalyptists, he performed many striking symbolic actions. He was a prophet and a pastor of souls. He combined an ability to declare the great judgments of Jahveh upon the sins of men, with an interest in the technicalities of ritual observance. He could write inspired poetry but also almost wearisome prose. In him were united the extremities of psychology which made Hölscher posit a dual authorship for the prose and poetic sections of the book. He stands in the line of the great prophets and poets, yet he belongs also to the prosaic order of priests.

Criticism.

It is certainly true that some of the oracles of Ezekiel are concrete while others are more general. But it is not true as Eissfeldt says, that only the general ones begin with the phrases "The word of the Lord came to me," etc. Chapter 20 has a date to it and also begins with this formula. How can we divide the oracles into the concrete and general, and then say that they must have existed separately in two diaries? The one of these contained dates, the other did not. A third diary consisted of a collection of the foreign articles. This is too modern and too artificial to be accepted without more adequate proof than Eissfeldt attempts to offer.

It seems also somewhat arbitrary to say that 33^{21-22} should

follow 24^{26-27}, because both contain references to Ezekiel's supposed dumbness. Because only two short sections 33^{1-9} and 33^{10-20} intervene in addition to the section of foreign oracles Eissfeldt says that therefore this section of the foreign oracles is not in its original position. But if we note the structure of the book as a whole, this section is exactly in its right position, both chronologically and structurally. Its time is about the date of the Fall of Jerusalem and it is certainly a bridge section from the prophecies of woe to those of hope.

Nor can the present writer accept the suggested division of 3^{17-27} - how did the present confusion arise? No purpose can be behind it, and it is not feasible as an accident. Our own suggestions concerning these verses is given later.

In spite of the importance of the dates for his theory, Eissfeldt has given no discussion of the double dating at the start of the book. Nor has he given any real consideration of the locale of the prophet. Without a study of these two questions no treatment of the problems of the book of Ezekiel can be considered adequate.

Cooke's support of a Babylonian Locale for Ezekiel's work.

In 1936 Cooke completed his long promised commentary on Ezekiel,[1] and it was published in the next year. It is significant in that it rejects all the arguments of recent years against the exilic origin of many of Ezekiel's prophetic oracles, and asserts anew the unity of the whole book. However Cooke following somewhat closely the analysis

1. G. A. Cooke Ezekiel. I.C.C. 1936.

of the book by Herrmann maintains that "everywhere, throughout the book, successive editors have been at work, collecting stray oracles, adding comments of their own, emending what seemed to be at fault, sometimes lighting up dark places with a ray of hope. The closing chapters, in particular, seem to have invited supplements of various kinds."[1]

Cooke, following the lead of Steuernagel and Eissfeldt,[2] regards the dates in the book as being able to furnish a fair clue concerning the composition of the book. The book is divided into three main divisions (1) Chapters 1-24, the message of doom for Israel's sin, (2) Chapters 25-32, the oracles against foreign nations, especially Tyre and Egypt, and (3) Chapters 33-48 the future restoration of Israel. This third division can be divided again into two parts: 33-39, which is concerned with the outward and inward renewal of the people, and 40-48, which outlines in the main a scheme for a new temple and the highly complex ritual of its worship. In Part 1 the dates follow a chronological order from 593 to 588 B. C. - but the material between two dates does not apply to that period. It would appear that each date applies only to the oracle or narrative which immediately follows it. In Part 2 the dates follow a chronological order, except that the prophecies against Tyre and those against Egypt are collected together in separate groups. In Part 3 the important date is given in 33^{21}, for it marks a burning point in Ezekiel's prophetic activity. The foretold doom had come to pass, and

1. Ibid p. xxvi
2. Steuernagel Einleitung in d. A.T. 1912. p. 575; Eissfeldt Einleitung in das A.T. 1934. p. 416.

Ezekiel, formerly a prophet of woe, could become a prophet of weal; he who had formerly been a reproof to his people could become a watchman on their behalf. Eleven years after this Ezekiel experienced the vision of the future temple which is the climax and conclusion of his book. Into this vision narrative have been inserted the aims and experiments of his spiritual successors.

Cooke sees no reason to distrust these dates. Other prophets before and after Ezekiel had dated their oracles, why may not Ezekiel have done so too? The fundamental plan of the book may well be the work of the prophet Ezekiel himself. How much of the book can be assigned to Ezekiel? Varying answers to this have been given in recent years. Cooke mentions the work of Herrmann, Hölscher, Torrey and Herntrich. He evaluates Herrmann's work highly, but while recognising the excellence of Hölscher's critical handling of the text says that "the general result of his method is to empty the Book of all serious value."[1] This however is no argument against Hölscher if his position is correct. To Torrey, Cooke devotes but one paragraph referring the reader for a refutation of Torrey's position to Shalom Spiegel[2] and Sellin[3]. Cooke does not mention either Torrey's answer to Spiegel or Spiegel's subsequent "Towards Certainty in Ezekiel"[4]. As more representative of sober scholarship, Cooke regards Herntrich's position. He makes several statements in reply to

1. Ibid p. xxi
2. Spiegel H.T.R. 1931.
3. History of the Jewish People. 1932
4. J. B. L. 1935.

Herntrich. Herntrich would make the strange psychic visions and journeys of Ezekiel a literary device. To this Cooke replies "the only alternative is to suppose that Ezekiel was gifted with second sight: and both Hölscher and Herntrich declare that no scientific person nowadays believes in such a thing. Both critics are candid enough to admit that they hold a priori views of what is possible and not possible in the domain of the spirit. And after all, what relief do they give us? It is just as hard to believe in the highly imaginative redactor as to accept the statements in the text."[1] Cookes reply is singularly inept. He says that Hölscher and Herntrich hold a priori views, but they say they hold scientific views. That is true. If we can believe anything, even what science has proved untrue, then Cooke's position would be correct. Cooke asks what relief do Herntrich and Hölscher give us? Surely it is not a question of relief but of truth that is involved. Is it as hard to believe in an imaginative man of literature, as it is to believe in a man in Babylon transferred to Jerusalem in trance, materialising there in the temple to denounce the sins of the temple worship, at his preaching a man falling dead, and then the man coming out of trance in Babylon to tell the people there, what had happened away in far Jerusalem? Cooke says that it is as difficult to believe in the former as in the latter.

Cooke would agree that most of the oracles in 1-24 are addressed to the people in Jerusalem, yet he maintains they were spoken in Babylon to an audience to which they did not apply. "His words might

1. Ibid p. xxiii

reach only the ears that were listening, but his attention was fixed upon the nation at large. Mere distance does not count in the range of a prophet's message. Isaiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah could address nations far away from Jerusalem; why not Ezekiel, in the opposite direction? Tyre and Egypt came within his purview, why not the land of Judah? It is not for us to set limits to a prophet's vision."[1] Surely the main purpose of the prophetic oracles against Foreign Nations was to proclaim that they were also under the sway of the God of Israel. In no case did a prophet think of himself as a messenger to those nations, he was Jahveh's herald to his own people. Certainly the vision of the prophets could sweep over the whole of the then known world, but that is no excuse for delivering oracles that were for the warning only of an audience separated from the prophet by some seven hundred miles of desert. Cooke has made no case against Herntrich's position that Ezekiel, the prophet of doom, prophesied in Palestine. Cooke however rightly holds that we would expect the prophet of doom to change the note of his preaching to one of hope after the capture of Jerusalem. Every true prophet hold that beyond doom there is hope, a hope grounded in God. Weal and woe are mingled in the words of every prophet. Again Cooke is right in refusing to regard as impossible the combination of priestly and prophetic interests in one man. Ezekiel had originally been a priest; when once his prophetic message of doom had been delivered and fulfilled, it was but natural that he should gather the remnants together to conserve what remained as a true priest. But Cooke's best work is unquestionably his work on the text of the book. This is marked by singularly careful and accurate scholarship.

1. Ibid p. xxiv.

An examination of the first section of the book leaves as the work of Ezekiel himself: first, the passages which follow the dates and are spoken with a definite situation in view, Chapters 1,3-5, 8, 20,24: secondly, the poems 15^{1-5}, 16^{3-14}, 17^{3-10}, $19^{2-9,10-14}$, $21^{14-22,(9-17)}$. Concerning some other passages it is difficult to be certain, but as they reflect the thought of Ezekiel there is no reason to reject them; they are Chapters 13,14,18,22,23.

In the second section of the book Cooke has no hesitation in accepting 26-29, 30-32. Whether 25 and 28^{20-24} are genuine or not, it is impossible to say.

In the third section the prophecies of Chapter 34-37 are so much in keeping with the thought of Ezekiel that though they are undated Cooke has no hesitation in acception them as genuine. Chapter 34 is an independent development by Ezekiel of the oracle of Jeremiah 23^{1-6}. Chapter 36^{1-15} is a completion of his own oracle 6^{1-7} and Chapter 35 is vitally connected with Chapter 36. In Chapter 37 Ezekiel gives expression to the most characteristic hopes of his ministry, the restoration of the nation, its reunion under a single ruler and the setting up of Jahveh's sanctuary in the midst of Israel forever.

Cooke rejects 38-39 because they interrupt the settled peace and harmony, that has come in the previous chapter and break the connection with the next chapters which go on to describe the new sanctuary that is to be built, when the people again return to their home land.

Clearly in 40-48 later hands have expanded the original material. But that such a plan would be put forward is suggested by the previous chapters, which move towards it as a climax. The visions of this part correspond to the visions earlier in the book. The vision of the desecration of the temple which caused the glory of the Lord to depart from it is now matched by a vision of Jahveh's return to hallow the temple rebuilt in a new age.

Cooke asks when and where could such an ideal for the future have been born? Not in the post-exilic period when people possessed a new temple, which was quite sufficient for the religious needs of the people. "Only in Babylonia, and during the exile, when the ancient temple had been burned and its worship brought to an end (2 K 25^{9ff}.) could a prophet have dreamt of a sanctuary such as his heart desired; at no other time, certainly not in the days of Zerubbabel and his colleagues, would it have been possible to contemplate a priesthood limited to the Ṣadokites, and to make no mention of the office of high priest (Sellin Geschichte II,50)"[1] The nucleus of these chapters are then suitable to the time of Ezekiel, and so Cooke has no hesitation in attributing it to him. This nucleus he finds in 40-42, 43 (in part), 44 (in part), 46^{19-24}, and 47^{1-12}.

Criticism.

Cooke's commentary is a masterly and exhaustive piece of work. He shows in a clear and distinct way the unity of the whole book. His idea of 40-48 as the climax of the prophet-priest Ezekiel's message, while at first somewhat startling, proves to be most attractive upon further thought. The picture of the aged Ezekiel in Babylon

1. Cooke. op.cit. p. xxvi

expressing this great hope for the future is an appealing one. The doom that he had foretold had come to pass, yet the undismayed servant of God knew that in Him there was hope. So confident was he of the future restoration of his people, that he gave instructions for the building of the sanctuary and for the conduct of the cultus. The insistence on the unity of the plan of the whole book is one of the great merits of Cooke's work. He recognises that we have to be on our guard for interpolations, in matters of detail, but the book from beginning to end was planned by a single mind and that the mind of Ezekiel himself.

The analysis of the text of Ezekiel, which has followed in a large measure the analysis of Herrmann, is very skilful. We have used it in our own study of the text, in determining the locale of the prophet when he delivered each message. We also have shown where we disagree with Cooke's position.

Our main criticism is in the realm of psychology. We have already shown how we cannot accept the oracles of Ezekiel as "Fernsprüche". No symbolic action could be such. When the prophet himself is part of the message, as when he claims that he will be a sign, then the message that he is delivering must be spoken to the people to whom it applies. Cooke acknowledges that in the main the oracles of 1-24 apply to the people left in Jerusalem after the deportation of 597 B.C. Why he is unwilling to make the deduction that it was therefore in Jerusalem that Ezekiel prophesied, it is difficult to say. In our exposition of Cooke's position we have already shown what we think in this matter. In spite of this, Cooke's commentary is one which every future student of the Book of Ezekiel must read and ponder over before all others.

Chapter V

Ezekiel, Prophet in Jerusalem & Subsequently in Babylon

Thirty-nine years after the publication of his earlier commentary on Ezekiel[1] the veteran German scholar Alfred Bertholet[2] has produced another commentary on the same book in which he says hardly one stone remains upon another of his earlier work. So much has been wirtten in the intervening years and so much is still far from certai that the distinguished commentator expresses the hope that although he cannot expect to solve the many problems involved, his work may indicate certain directions for advance. In this commentary the introduction to Chapters 40-42 and the exegesis of the text of 40-42, 43^{10-17} are the work of Professor Kurt Galling.

If we can trust the dates given in the Book of Ezekiel, the call of the prophet took place in 593 B. C. and the last oracle recorded was spoken in the year 571 B.C. An understanding of the historical situation during these years is necessary if we are to estimate correctly the work of the prophet. Of importance is the recent 621 B.C. Deuteronomic Reformation under King Josiah, with its resultant faith in the security of Jerusalem because it was the city of the only sanctuary, where sacrifice might be offered to Jahveh. The tragedy of Megiddo proved a set-back to the reforming party, and resulted in the return of the abominations of Manasseh's time. Although Pharoah Necho was decisively defeated at Carchemish 605 B. C. by Nebuchadressar, this meant for the Jewish king only a change of the lords, to whom he was vassal. The treachery of King Jehoiachim resulted three months after the accession of his son Jehoiachin in the capture of Jerusalem

1. Bertholet. Das Buch Hesekiel. K.H.A.T. Tubingen 1897.
2. Bertholet. Hesekiel H.A.T. Tubingen 1936.

597 by Nebuchadressar who took captive to Babylon the king and many[1] of the leading citizens. The condition of these exiles in Babylon was formerly largely deduced from the Book of Ezekiel, but today we cannot do so for now it is almost certainly proved that in the main this book deals with Palestinian oracles of the prophet. It is also no longer possible to regard the book as in the main the prophet's own work - he seems to have left behind a kind of loose leaf notebook or diary which others united into the prophetic book and to which many additions and alterations were made. There are a great many secondary elements and non-Ezekielan accretions to the book. It was the work of the prophet's spiritual heirs, into whose hands this legacy fell, to unify everything according to the well thought out plan of the present book. Certain of his oracles the prophet had dated; these were incorporated chronologically, as far as possible, into the book.[2]

One disservice the editors did to Ezekiel was to attempt to combine in one oracle what had originally been two separate oracles on the same theme. This has not been successfully done, and has seriously misrepresented the prophet's style. It is also necessary to remember that the redaction has combined with the genuine work of the prophet a whole succession of secondary materials. This is especially the case in 40-48 where it is impossible correctly to separate the genuine from the secondary. That the secondary interpolations could be of considerable length Chapter 38-39 shows. The

1. 2Kings 24^{13} more than 10,000, 2 Kings 24^{16} more than "8000", Jeremiah 52^{28}; 3023.
2. p. xiv

redaction of the book is also responsible for the idea that Ezekiel was exclusively an exilic prophet. The Redactor achieved his purpose by means of a whole apparatus of visionary trances, whereby the prophet is closely united to his homeland. This error is responsible for the strange psychology of 11^{13} and 24^{2} "$_{2}$and the whole apparatus of transportation (8^{3},11^{24}) which puts too great a strain on the prophet's hair and the reader's credulity."[1] Therefore Bertholet attempts to explain the prophetic activity of Ezekiel as partly in Jerusalem and partly in Babylon.

The first thing that supports his last contention is that we have two call visions of the prophet. The one is the vision of the roll of a book 2^{3} - 3^{9} which is the prophet's call in Jerusalem to be a prophet of woe, with it goes the date of 1^{2}, the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. The other vision is that of the Chariot-throne 1^{4}-2^{2}, which cannot be separated from its Babylonian origin and which would constitute his renewed call in exile and explain his change from a prophet of woe to one of weal. Changing the date of 1^{1} from thirtieth to thirteenth, Bertholet says it applies to this vision which is thus dated 585 B.C. That Ezekiel was a Jerusalem prophet above all the Pelatiah episode indicates. But many other oracles gain real cogency when it is realised that they were spoken not to the exiles or to the men in Jerusalem present only in imagination, but in person to the very people to whom they applied. In some cases it is difficult to decide where the prophecy was spoken; but in

1. Shalom Spiegel. A Review of Bertholet.J.B.L. Dec. 1937 p.405.

such a case as Chapter 20 where men come to ask of him the oracle of God and he refuses because up to the present they had unsanctified themselves by the sacrifice of children, it can only be a question of Jerusalem, as sacrifice of any kind was impossible on exilic soil.

How came about the change of locale for Ezekiel? Perhaps he is himself in a way responsible. In Chapter 12 he mentions "another place" to which he went in carrying out one of his symbolic acts. No doubt he stayed there otherwise the symbolic act would not have been correct, and the place would be one of the nearby Judean villages. Here Ezekiel would hear of the fall of Jerusalem on the day of its capture. Here he continued his prophetic work (14^{12-20},15, $24^{1-5,6\pm14}$, 33^{23-29}) and perhaps the most of his oracles against foreign nations until the day came that he went away either as a captive or a voluntary exile to Babylon in 585 B. C. A last proof that he was not one of the exiles of 597 can be seen in the very words of his commission in 3^{11} and 3^{15} where he is sent "to them of the captivity."

Afterwards on Babylonian soil Ezekiel continued his prophetic work, which is represented in the book as follows:

1^{1-4}-2^{2}

$3^{10-16a,22-24a}$

11^{14-21}

$14^{4b-6,\ 7b,\ 11,\ 21-23}$

17^{22-24}

20^{33-44}

22^{23-31} ? possibly in the interval

33^{30-33} ?

34^{1-16}, 17-22, 31, 23ff

35^{1-6}, 8b, 12f, 15

36^{1-12}, 16-36

37 (12a b 13)

39^{23-29}

40-48 in as far as it is genuine.

Such is briefly Bertholet's reconstruction of the book. It involves a three-fold change in the usual conception of the prophet Ezekiel. First it involves the disappearance of certain pathological traits in the prophet and makes him more natural. It does not however involve the absence of all visions and unusual phenomona, but these are studied each in their own turn. Secondly, his prophetic work becomes really related to the situation in which he lived. His work parallels that of his older contemporary Jeremiah by whom he was considerably influenced. Thirdly, it becomes intelligible how the prophet of Jerusalem became a priest in Babylon anxious to preserve the spiritual worth of his race. He had originally been a priest greatly influenced by the Deuteronomic reformation. His was in a way the religion of a book. Hence he became in Babylon one of the learned and therefore one of the progenitors of apocalyptic.

Criticism.

If it be a mark of greatness to change one's mind when evidence necessitating the change is supplied, then Bertholet qualifies for the title to a marked degree. In his study of Ezekiel he has completely changed his mind concerning the locale of the prophet in Chapters 1-24,

between the time of publication of his earlier commentary on the book of Ezekiel and the publication of his recent new one. This latest commentary on Ezekiel accepts the position that Ezekiel was in Jerusalem or nearby until after the fall of the city in 586 B. C. and that he went as an exile to Babylon perhaps in the following year. This year he obtains by changing thirtieth to thirteenth as the year of 1^1.

(1) Date of Ezekiel 1^1.

In the following chapters of our study we show how we cannot accept any emendation of the"thirtieth" year in the opening verse of the book. We agree with Bertholet that the date must refer to the same period as the other dates found in the book, that is,to the years after the deportation of Jehoiachin in 597 B. C. While thirty years after this would make Ezekiel an old man at the time, that is what is required for our reconstruction. Putting this date as the date of the vision of Chapter 1, and placing the vision then in its correct context in Chapter 43 we realise that this is the vision of the 'Glory of Jahveh' returning to the Temple in Jerusalem when it shall later be rebuilt. This vision is the call of Ezekiel to plan for the Temple cultus of therestored community. The genuine parts of 40-48 are the work of an old man who knows that he will not live to be with the returning exiles but who gives to them his plan for the future.

(2) Did Ezekiel leave Jerusalem in Chapter 12?

In discussing the symbolic act recorded 12^{1-16} Bertholet[1] suggests that when Ezekiel removed to another place, it means that he

1. Hesekiel. p. 45

left Jerusalem and stayed away. This is requiring too much detail in the symbolic act. The act was to be done publicly so that all could see. In 12^5 he is to dig through the wall. This is the wall of his house - his house represents the city from which he was to go symbolically into exile. He needed not then to go to another city or village: but only to another house or place, not necessarily at a great distance but only so far as to indicate the message of the prophet. Also the prophet had to interpret his act. He stayed in Jerusalem.

Bertholet adds that if Ezekiel was in a nearby village then we may see the meaning of the passages 24^{25-27} and 33^{21}, where we are told that a fugitive from Jerusalem brought news of its fall to Ezekiel. The passage 24^{25-27} is a parenthesis that breaks the thread of the story, and in addition contains the amazing information that it took one year and a half for the news of the fall of Jerusalem to reach Ezekiel. If he was in a nearby village in Palestine, this is incredible. Hence we cannot accept this suggestion of Bertholet.

Part II

The Locale of the Prophet Ezekiel

Chapter I

The Dates of the Book of Ezekiel.1[1-3]

The opening verses of Ezekiel offer great difficulty to the exegete. The chronological information of verses 1 and 2 is an ancient riddle. Many explanations have been offered, but none has won general acceptance. There are other difficulties. We have two descriptions of the place where the divine revelation came to Ezekiel, in verse 1 'among the captives by the river of Chebar'and in verse 3 'in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar.' This redundancy is augmented by a double description of the manner of the revelation 'heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God' in verse 1, while verse 3 'the hand of the Lord was upon him.' In addition we have the record change from first person to third person, and then in verse 4 back to the first person. Can we give an explanation of all these difficulties? Many have taken in hand to do so, therefore our first task will be to consider their suggestions.

It is assumed by some that the date in the first verse is the same date as that in the second verse. On the other hand, some think that the two verses belong to separate occasions and hence refer to different years altogether. The first suggestion is that we ought to emend the date of the first verse.

Hölscher[1] would emend the date of v.1 to agree with that of v.2, He attributes it to the hand of a Redactor who introduced the number thirty to reconcile Jeremiah's estimate (25^{11}) of the duration of the exile as seventy years with what seems to be Ezekiel's forty

1. Hölscher Der Dichter and Das Buch. p. 43-44

years(E. 4^{6} and 29^{11}). If when Ezekiel's prophetic activity began there were only forty more years for Judah's exile, then his call must have occurred in the thirtieth year of the exile. The first verse of Ezekiel contains a midrash note. Holscher would emend the text to read " Im 5 Jahre der Wegfuhrung des Konigs Jojachin im 4 (Monat) am 5 des Monats erging das Wort Jahwes an den Priester Jechezq'el Ben Buzi im Lande Chaldaa am Grossen Kanale. Und es kam auf ihn (LXX: auf mich) daselbst (om. LXX) die Hand Jahwes."[1] If Ezekiel's call came in the fifth year of the exile of Jehoiachin and there were still forty years of exile, that leaves a discrepancy of twenty-five years not thirty between Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Bertholet[2] would accept this emendation also, but considers verses 2 and 3 a gloss. Hence the discrepancy between Jeremiah and Ezekiel is correctly bridged. It cannot however be original because it does not correspond to the other datings of the book.

In this matter Bertholet has completely altered his mind in his recent new commentary.[3] He has given weight to the idea behind Toy's comment "It is not probable that the verse gives any other reckoning than that which is found everywhere else in the Book, that is, from the deportation of Jehoiachin. But the date thirtieth year is too late: c.8 which presupposes the vision of c.1, falls in the 6th year; the concluding section cc. 40-48 in the 25th year: and 29^{17} (27th year) is merely an added remark."[4] The thirty years in view of no other

1. Ibid p. 45.
2. Bertholet Das Buch Hezekiel K.H.A.T. Tübingen 1897.
3. Bertholet: Hezekiel in H. A. T. Tübingen 1936
4. Toy in S.B.O.T. edited by Haupt. Ezekiel. Leipzig. 1899

specification ought to apply to the same era as the other dates. Hence Bertholet suggests that instead of thirty the text should read thirteen. He finds evidence in these opening verses of the coalescence of two separate happenings. The double manner of the revelation and the repetition of the place giving him a clue, he separates them as follows:[1]

A	B.
2. Im 5 Jahr der Wegfuhrung des Königs Jo jachin..... erging das Wort Jahwes 'an mich', Hezekiel den Sohn Busis des Priesters und es kam uber 'mich' die Hand Jahwes.	1. Im 13th Jahr im 4 Monat am 5 Tage des Monats, wahrend ich inmitten der Exulanten am Flusse Kebar war, öffnete sich der Himmel und ich schaute ein Gottes-Gesicht,

The date of the thirteenth year belongs to a vision in exile which summoned Ezekiel to renew his prophetic activity now on foreign soil. This reconstruction is certainly attractive, for Bertholet begins to separate the two visions from each other, from their fusion in the opening chapters of our book of Ezekiel.

Rothstein[2] has proposed a similar emendation of the text from thirty to thirteen. He would refer the year however to the thirteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, which would give 593 B. C. This would make the date coincide with the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, and give thus a double dating of Ezekiel's inaugural vision.

1. Ibid p. 3.
2. Rothstein. Das Buch Ezekiel in Kautzsch-Bertholet, Heilige Schrift des A.T. (1922)

What authority has Rothstein to suggest, that a Hebrew prophet or even an exilic redactor would date a book from the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, without any indication, that he was doing so?

The greater difficulty is however the change in Hebrew from thirtieth to thirteenth year. It is one very difficult to believe could happen by accident, and there can be no adequate motive suggested. An original thirteen would require בשלשה עשרה for the present text בשלשים , which is rather too difficult to explain as an accidental error in transcription. We would be unwilling to accept the emendation of thirtieth to thirteenth.

Herntrich after remarking on the varied solutions offered to the problem of Ezekiel 1^{1-3} himself proposes another solution of the problem. There are three dates 1^2, 33^{21} and 40^1 which refer to the captivity, the others are not explicitly referred to any period. 24^1 can with certainty be interpreted as indicating a reckoning according to the reign of Zedekiah. 2 Kings 25^1 gives the same year, month and day of the reign of Zedekiah as the date on which Nebuchadrezzar began the siege of Jerusalem. Hence Herntrich makes the deduction that the unspecified dates in the book refer to the years of the reign of Zedekiah. He would also deduce that we have two different chronological schemes in the book, an exilic one in 1^2,33^{21}, and 40^1 and a pre-exilic date in all the rest.[1] Then Herntrich attempts to see what

1. op. cit. p. 61.

year of the reign of Zedekiah could coincide with the fifth of Jehoiachin's captivity. As Jehoiachin reigned but two months he is at pains to show how it is possible that the third year of Zedekiah could cover some of the fifth of Jehoiachin's captivity. He then suggests that the text should be amended to the third year, as follows ושנה בשלשה instead of שנה בשלשים This is a very slight emendation and is free from the criticism of Bewer[1] that on the analogy of the other dates in Ezekiel "in the third year" would be בשנה השלשית because these other dates for the years under ten are from another hand. One feels however that as Jehoiachin reigned but two months, scarcely anyone would place the third year of Zedekiah as equivalent to the fifth of Jehoiachin's captivity. Herntrich's position that there are two series of dates may require further discussion later, but I believe it breaks down just at this very point, and elsewhere is of no importance.

So far we have discussed the opinions of those who would alter the thirtieth year to some other number, we have now to discuss the various suggestions concerning the point of reference from which the thirty years commenced.

Smend[2], accepting the date in the first verse as equivalent to the date in the second, viz. 592 B. C., looks for some important event thirty years earlier ie. 622 B.C. as the beginning of the period. As

1. A.J.S.L. p.98.
2. Smend in Hitzig Handbuch. Leipzig. 1880. p. 5

the second verse is a Jewish dating by a prophet in Babylon, he regards the first verse as being its Babylonian equivalent. Nehemiah 1[1] similarly begins by giving the number of the year without the point of reference in Babylonian history. Smend suggests the thirtieth year of the reign of Nabopolassar although chronology now places this in 625 B.C. He therefore on his own interpretation has a hiatus of at least three years.

The Targums suggest that it was thirty years from the reformation under Josiah. This would make the two dates the same, but there is no reason for dating an era from the Deuteronomic reformation. Nor can we explain why this one date is reckoned from that period and none of the other dates in the book. There is no precedent for this suggestion, nor is it really even probable. This we would maintain against Herrmann,[1] who accepts the suggestion of the Targums, claiming it to be the only credible meaning of the date. He assumes that the dates in verse 1 and 2 refer to the same year. Claiming that Ezekiel's contemporaries did not need their attention drawn to the time from which the thirty years was counted because they would recognise it automatically, he supposes that verse 2 is a gloss. Obviously for Herrmann it is a gloss because it contains a clue word, its purpose being to coordinate the original dating of verse 1 with that of the chronology of Jehoiachin's exile because the other dates in the book belong to that chronology. Why is it so easy to understand that in the priestly circles of the exiles men would date from the Josianic reformation? Even according to Herrmann Ezekiel does it once but not afterwards. He has left the date of the first verse

1. Herrmann Ezechiel Leipzig 1924 p. 10

stand, Herrmann rejoins, even after the other method of chronology had become the usual. This is more ingenious than convincing.

Origen would appear to have been the first to suggest that the thirty referred to the age of the prophet when he was called to the prophetic office; 'Ezekiel cum triginta esset annorum, apertos vidit Coelos.'[1] This suggestion is accepted by Bewer[2] who ventures a psychological study of the young priest's son in Babylonian exile. Thirty was the age when normally he would have been admitted to the priesthood. Hence in this year of dejection the call came to him, to be a prophet to his fellow exiles. Hence his joy at realising that God would reveal Himself even there. In this situation the change of persons is not so strange. We find also in 24^{24} that Ezekiel speaks of himself in the third person. No other prophet mentions his age, and we must alter the text if we desire to translate 'when I was thirty years of age.' It is also scarcely reasonable to think that the years mentioned refer to the prophet's age, while the month and day are added. The change of persons needs some better explanation than the one here offered.

Cooke says[3], "The most plausible explanation is that which has been suggested by Begirch, Die Chronologie der Könige von Isr. u. Juda 1929, 206f. He points out that, as the month and the day are the same in verses 1-2 it is probable that the year referred to in both verses is the same also. By a process which is too intricate to be unfolded here, he has discovered that varying systems of chronology

1. (Quoted from) Cooke I.C.C. Ezekiel. p. 7.
2. Bewer A.J.S.L. Vol. 50 p. 98
3. op. cit. p. 3 and 4.

have been followed in Kings and Chronicles, between two of these systems there is a difference of twenty-five years, which corresponds with the difference between the thirtieth year and the fifth year of the captivity." Obviously this would make the date in verse 1 a very later interpolation. There is no evidence for this - nor is there any evidence for any need to harmonize a date in Ezekiel according to two of the different chronologies of the books of Kings and Chronicles. This is surely a case of applying a discrepancy of twenty-five years found in one place in the Old Testament, to a supposed discrepancy of twenty-five years in another place and saying that they both have a common source.

Torrey deals very radically with the book of Ezekiel. As his position is based in a measure on the date of the first verse, we must examine carefully his position concerning the dates in the book. Although by all the recognised principles of literary criticism the opening verses are secondary, yet because here alone the name of the prophet's father is mentioned it may well be that the suspected verses did stand originally at the beginning of the book. However Torrey decides, "Verses 2 and 3 are certainly spurious, an interpolation by a later hand."[1] He cannot believe that verse 1 is an interpolation, because the date in it is more indefinite than the date in verse 2. Interpolators do not explain a definite date by one which is completely indefinite.

The author of the book commenced with a date, "in the thirtieth year, the fourth month, the fifth day of the month." We may well suppose that he added a few more dates in various places in the long

1. Torrey. Pseudo-Ezekiel p. 59.

succession of prophetic oracles, which constituted the book he constructed. The interpolator would make as little alterations as possible. The best hypothesis is that the redactor had to alter a succession of dates already in the book. In his reconstruction the difficulty was with the years. "This conjecture is given strong support by the dates themselves, in which the months and days exhibit a regular sequence of their own, quite irrespective of the years to which they are assigned in our present text."[1] Torrey then gives a diagramme to show his idea,

Ezekiel Chapter	Date in Present Book Year	Month	Day	The Year in Original
1^{1}	5	4	5	30
8^{1}	6	6(5 inLXX)	5	30
20^{1}	7	5	10	30
24^{1}	9	10	10	30
26^{1}	11(9)	(11)	1	30
29^{1}	10	10(12 inLXX)	12	30
29^{17}	27(11)	1	1	31
30^{20}	11	1	7	31
31^{1}	11	3	1	31
32^{1}	12(11 inLXX)	12	1	31
32^{17}	12	1(LXX)	15	32
33^{21}	12	10	5	32
40^{1}	25	1	10	35

This shows that if we take the clue from the months and days, the period of Ezekiel's work covered two and one-half years, more natural

1. Ibid p. 60.

than the view of a longer period when one considers the unity and homogeneity of the book. The text is badly preserved, and the dates are more likely to suffer corruption than anything. This may explain why Torrey accepts at once the LXX corrections which fit his theory. The person who altered the dates was the redactor who gave the book its Babylonian setting. The alterations were all done in the interests of the redactor's purpose.

The date in 29^{17} is related to that in 26^{1}. The redactor had already dated this latter verse in the eleventh year. In it had been predicted the complete overthrow of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar. In Chapter 29 it is recorded that Nebuchadrezzar besieged Tyre without success. Hence though originally this chapter must have been dated for the eleventh year, it had to be dated much later and the redactor chose twenty-seventh, that is the latest date of all. Torrey claims that the mention of Nebuchadrezzar in Chapter 26 is itself a gloss, and that the prophecy had another conqueror in view.

By removing the interpolations of this redactor whose hand is seen throughout the book, Torrey says the commencement of the prophet's work is "It came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, in the fifth day of the month, that the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God. And I looked, and behold, a stormy wind came out of the north....."[1]

The thirtieth year now is free from its false conjunction to the spurious date of the second verse. It must refer to the thirtieth year of the reigning monarch. That monarch must be one of the last

1. Ibid. - p. 63.

of the kings of Judah, the only possible one being Manasseh. The date of the first verse refers to the thirtieth year of Manasseh. Such in brief is Torrey's brilliant analysis of the dates of the book.

Torrey's reconstruction will not however stand too close an investigation. His diagramme looks somewhat convincing until we see that the months and days may be quite accidently in the order they are. If one more year was needed Torrey could add it - any order of months and days could be worked over as Torrey does if we are not restricted to the number of years we have to include. Torrey is also rather over-confident of the knowledge of Jewish readers when he says that as soon as they heard the unspecified thirtieth year of the first verse they would know it referred to the reign of Manasseh. Without a previous mention of Manasseh or his times one cannot accept this date as obviously indicating his reign. Nor can one credit the present state of verses 1-3 to a redactor who was altering them to suit a purpose of his own. A redactor would have been more skilful and left behind a less confused text. One cannot credit such clumsiness to a redactor elsewhere so skilful. These strictures Budde[1] passes upon Torrey and then himself makes his own reconstruction. He sees in these verses a superscription to the prophet's book, an original narrative of the prophet's call in the first person and some marginal notes subsequently incorporated into the text in the wrong places. Verse 3 is opened ויהי דבר יהוה אל יחזקאל , which appears to be awkward as a beginning and when in the LXX a

1. Budde "Zum Eingang des Buches Ezechiel". J.B.L. Vol 50 p.20-31

simpler לה is supposed, Budde takes it as original. Verse 2 is the intrusion of a strange hand, a marginal note to denote the time of the thirtieth year. The superscription

דבר יהוה אשר היה אל יחזקאל בן בוזי הכהן

the first marginal note would be

בארץ כשדים על־נהר כבר ותהי עליו שם יד־יהוה

Then the prophet's words begin

ויהי בשלשים שנה ברבעי בחמשה לחדש

followed by another marginal note

היא השנה החמשית לגלות המלך יויכין ואנ
בתך־הגולה על־נהר כבר

after which the prophet's words continue בפתחו

The point of special interest in Budde's reconstruction is that he takes the thirtieth year to refer to the prophet's age. שנה it is true is only a slight emendation of the text, but as Budde himself acknowledges is paralleled nowhere else in the Old Testament. We cannot accept an emendation which would be a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

Torrey has certainly not solved the riddle of the thirtieth year nor has Budde.

James Smith offers another solution. "If we take the puzzling 30th year to be the 30th year after the city was smitten, this gives us the year 692, which is the fifth year of Manasseh. Is it possible that the gloss 1^2 read originally: 'In the fifth month which was the fifth year of king Manasseh?'" This guess of thirtieth year being the thirtieth year after the fall of Samaria for it is nothing else, is made plausible to Smith because he believes Ezekiel was a prophet of Northern Israel in the time of Manasseh. We have refuted this

position elsewhere as this solution of the problem of the dates in Ezekiel $1^{1,2}$ does not carry any weight in our minds.

There remains certain other suggestions all of which accept the date as being reckoned from the captivity of Jehoiachin and therefore 586 B. C. Edward Meyer suggested that it was the date when Ezekiel finished writing the book[1], while Albright[2] thinks that it is the date of its original publication.

"And it happened in the 30th year in the 4 month on the 5 day of the month, that the word of the Lord came to E, son of Buzi, the priest, on the river Chebar in the land of the Chaldeans: "In the 5 year of the captivity of King Joiachim.etc."

Both these suggestions have much to commend them. We need the two separate dates when we realise that in Chapters 1 to 3 we have two separate visions recorded and that each date belongs to one of these visions. Merx[3] would support the view that the two dates belong to different visions, but thinks that the passage belonging to v 1 is now lost. Originally it was at the end of the book. Spiegel[4] would regard it as the date of a vision which was suppressed because it was dangerous: but Berry[5] links verse $1^{a,b}$, with verses 4-14, 22-28a and transfers them to Chapter 43[4] as the date and opening of the vision of that chapter. Torrey has shown in his reply[6] to Spiegel's

1. Edward Meyer Geschichte des Altertums III p. 179
2. Albright "The Seal of Eliakim etc." J.B.L. Vol 51. p. 97. He does not amend the text, but rearranges the order of the clauses from a b c d e to a e d c b.
3. Quoted in Albright p. 96. and in Bewer, p. 97
4. Spiegel.H. T. R. 1931 pages 284-90, J.B.L. 1935 p. 164-170
5. Berry "The Title of Ezekiel" (1^{1-3}) J.B.L. Vol 51. p. 54-57
6. Torrey J.B.L. 1934. p.

first article that his discussion to prove the existence of a suppressed vision is too subtle and ingenious to be credible. This leaves Berry's suggestion as the more probable.

The date in verse 1 is the latest in our book. If its era is the same as the other dates, then the year to which it refers is 567 B. C. If it refers to this year, Berry maintains that it is not now in its original position. It must have been towards the end of the book at any rate after 40[1] where the date mentioned is the twenty-fifth year. One verse alone would not have been transferred, the message to which it refers would have gone with it. This message Berry holds was the larger part of Chapter 1, the vision of the Glory of Jahveh. He believes that verses 15-21 are secondary, but offers no suggestion concerning the time of their incorporation. It may have been before or after or at the time of the transference of the vision to its present position. The message transfered was 1[1] and all of verses 4-14, 22-28 except for the last sentence of verse 28. "In this connection it is worth noting that a space is found in the Hebrew text before the last sentence of v. 28."[1]

The message is in its appropriate place in Chapter 43 before verse 4. It is a vision of the Glory of Jahveh returning to His temple from which his Glory had departed at the destruction of the Temple in 586 B. C.

Berry believes an editor transferred the vision to the beginning of the book to supply an inaugural vision, like that found in the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. To fill up the gap made by the

1. Berry. J. B. L. Vol. 51 p. 56

removal of this vision the editor supplied verses 1-3. Verse 1 is a repetition of the situation in 42^{15} and verses 2 and 3 are based upon Chapter 1. As Berry holds that 40-48 are not by Ezekiel, but by a Second-Ezekiel the vision and message thus transferred are not by the same writer as the original book 1-39. He mentions certain evidences of a later date, amongst other the use of מראות . "The vagueness of the chapter, especially as produced by the frequent use of מראות and מראה , has an apocalyptic air, and suggests a late period. The use of נגה in the meaning of the sparkle of metal or jewels is found, so far as I know, only in this chapter and passages depending on it. It is peculiar, and may be a mark of lateness."[1] מראות נגה is only "mostly late," while the vagueness of the chapter is due not to lateness but to the character of the description. Language cannot accurately describe the appearance of the glory of Jahveh. This use of נגה is unusual and is found elsewhere only in Chapter $8^{2}, 10^{9}$ in Proverbs 23^{31}, in Daniel 10^{6}. Daniel we know is late but that hardly proves that therefore this use of נגה is only late too.

However Berry has made a definite contribution to the study of this enigma of the opening verses of the book of the prophet Ezekiel. We would say that the following positions must be accepted in any attempt to find a solution of the problems:

(1) The two dates must be accepted, and must refer to the same era.

(2) They are dates belonging to separate experiences.

A suitable place in the book must be found for the rest of the passage which goes with the date the thirtieth year. This we believe Berry

1. Ibid p. 56.

has done. Our next task will be to separate Chapters 1-3 into the respective accounts of the call of Ezekiel in the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin to be a prophet to the people in Jerusalem, and of his later vision in Babylon in 567 B.C. of the return of the Glory to Jahveh to His temple in Jerusalem when it should in after days be rebuilt.

Chapter II

The Locale of the Prophet

An Analysis of Ezekiel Chapters 1-3.

1^1	Date of the manifestation of Jahveh in Babylonia.
$1^4 - 2^2$	The description of the Glory of Jahveh.
1^{2-3}	The date of the call of Ezekiel in Jerusalem.
$2^3 - 3^9$	Description of the prophet's call experience.
$3^{10,15,16a}$	Editorial restatement of the prophet's commission.
3^{16b-21}	Account of a further commission.
3^{22-24a}	Exilic continuation from 16a.
3^{24b-27}	Ezekiel forbidden to prophesy.

We have already shown that we believe that into the account of Ezekiel's call, an editor has interpolated a vision which Ezekiel subsequently experienced in Babylonia. This vision is the description of the Glory of Jahveh which is our present 1^4 to 2^2. Here the aged prophet paints a picture of a wondrous vision, in which he beheld the Glory of Jahveh return to His temple. He describes the manifestation in words of apocalyptic wonder. The idea, supernatural beings which he describes as half-human and half-animal was quite well known in the ancient Semitic world, but where could it be more appropriate for a Hebrew prophet so to describe the ministrants of Jahveh than in Babylon. Here was a claim that Jahveh was the true God manifesting His glory over the gods of Babylon, on whose temples the exiled Jews had frequently seen such composite figures as are here described. In this part of the description one sees the veiled claim to supremacy of his God over the gods of the Babylonian conqueror. This vision is one of the transition passages between prophecy and apocalyptic.

Herrmann[1] considers that the original vision was described in verses 4,5, and 27,28 into which Ezekiel, at a later date, worked the present verses 6-26 passage, which is a detailed description of the vision. The text of this passage is about the worst in the book, hence any reconstruction of the chapter cannot get beyond the realm of probability. Hölscher[2] would leave but verses 4 and 28 as original and regards the intervening passage as the work of an editor. Berry also rejects verses 15-21 as secondary. There would seem to be no valid reason why all the passage should not belong to Ezekiel, if it is dated as we have done, and is recognised as part of Ezekiel's great section on the reconstruction of the Temple after the exile was over.

1^{2-3} Verse 3 would seem to be the original superscription, then it would begin as other prophetic books. The יהוה יהוה which is so unusual we would omit or place after דבר יהוה as אשר היה, we would thus have as our opening verse דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־יחזקאל בן־בוזי הכהן the editorial 'in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar', must be omitted as editorial. It was inserted to connect this verse with verse 1. After that the rest of verse 3 follows naturally, and then verse 2.

This passage so reconstructed is a good superscription to the whole book. Immediately after it should come the account of the prophet's call.

1. Herrmann Ezechiel Leipzig 1924 p. 14.
2. Holscher Der Dichter und das Buch Giessen 1924 p. 48

$2^3 - 3^9$

2^{1-2} are an editorial insertion to connect the vision of Chapter 1 with the account of the Prophet's call in the present order.

The account which is given of Ezekiel's call, summons him to be a prophet of woe unto a rebellious people. He is called upon to speak doom unto the people of Jerusalem. "Lamentations and mourning and woe," were to be the burden of his message. The prophet "insisted upon the approaching punishment of Jerusalem, he tried also to make his hearers perceive the justice of it."[1]

Two comments are in place here concerning Ezekiel's message. (1) The juxtaposition of Ezekiel's call and the vision of the Glory of Jahveh is strangely futile. They have nothing to do with each other. (2) Ezekiel was called to be a prophet of doom with a message not for those who were already exiles, but for those who remained in Jerusalem. If Ezekiel was to speak a message intended for men in Jerusalem to the people in Babylon, he was surely prophesying in a strange manner. Most prophets spoke to their audience. Even when they prophesied against foreign nations, the message was really for their hearers. They were proving the power of their God over other nations. But here the situation is quite otherwise.

To rescue Ezekiel from the charge of preaching to those absent from his audience we must realise that his call came in Palestine and his first prophetic work was done on Palestinian soil. We fail to understand Cooke's words: "It is not for us to set limits to a prophet's vision."[2] No one is attempting to set limits to the vision of

1. Cooke. p. 35.

2. Ibid p. xxiv

Ezekiel, but to rescue his work from the muddle in which editors left it.

$3^{10-15,16a}$ At the end of 16a there is a space in the Massoretic text to show that at this point there has been an interruption. This interruption is 3^{16b-21} an account of the commission of the prophet to be a watchman. This account is a reproduction almost verbatim of the words of 33^{7-9}, and the purpose thereof seems to be to indicate that Ezekiel had from the start a conception of his message which included not only doom but individual responsibility. This passage here is dependent on the later passage and so should be omitted as the word of an editor.

The passage 10-15,16a is continued in verses 22-24a, the whole appears to be an editorial restatement of the prophet's original task and applied to the exiles.

3^{24b-27} Here the text raises difficulties. v 25 seems to be connected with 4^{8}; v 26 and v 27 contradict each other, and verse 27 is connected with 24^{26-27} and 33^{21-22}.

Also we hardly expect this command to be dumb to come immediately after the prophet's call. Nor do we find that he stayed at home "shut thyself within thine house," but on the contrary 4^{12} says that he performed his action 'in their sight'. Cooke maintains that "the speechlessness referred to in v 26 so far from being the pathological condition known as aphasia, indicates under a figure the suspension of his liberty of utterance; and similarly, the opening of the mouth v27 represents, not the healing of his organs but free, unhindered speech, as it means elsewhere 16^{33}, 24^{27}, 29^{21}: cp. 1S 2^{1}"[1] Cooke's

1. Cooke ibid p. 48.

comment would be to the point, if the passage were Ezekiel's, and is a good counterblast to those who look for pathological symptoms in the Hebrew prophets. But we cannot accept this command as probable, so soon after the prophet's call. The prophet himself seems to be unaware of the prohibition to prophesy in public, for his symbolic acts were not performed in secret. When we note the connection of 3^{27} and $24^{26,27}$ and $33^{21,22}$, we see the hand of the editor who was making a Palestinian book of Prophecy (Ez. 1-39) into a book of prophetic activity in Babylon.

Thus our analysis of Chapter 1-3 leaves us with two genuine portions going back to Ezekiel. (1) 1^{1} and 1^{4}-2^{2} The vision of the Glory of Jahveh which the prophet saw by the river Chebar in 567 B.C. (2) 1^{2-3} and 2^{3}- 3^{9} The record of the call of Ezekiel to be a prophet in Palestine in 592 B. C.

The Locale of Ezekiel (Chapters 2-24).

It will now be our purpose to examine Ezekiel 2-24 to determine whenever we can where the prophet was on each occasion. Our task will be to see whether an oracle suits a Palestinian or a Babylonian origin.

Chapters 4 and 5.

These two chapters contain the record of five acts in which the prophet symbolised the fall of Jerusalem and the exile. One question we must ask is whether these acts were performed or not? Are they but literary devices? In their present form they could not have been performed, because actions which could not have taken place simultaneously are so represented[1]. However when editorial accretions are removed,

1. Davidson, A.B. Ezekiel Cambridge Bible.

the performance of these acts is quite possible. That they were performed is the only intelligible meaning of the words in 4^3, "This shall be a sign to the house of Israel." If we understand Hebrew prophecy correctly, we begin to understand the importance of the performance of symbolic acts. The performance of the act has a magic potency, so that the fulfillment of the prophecy becomes the more certain, almost automatic. Symbolic acts must be understood in the context of mimetic magic. For the prophet they are a word of God, "which shall not return unto itself void."

The first symbolic act $4^{1-3,7}$

This symbolic act represents the siege of Jerusalem. It is to be a warning unto the people who saw it; a sign of what was in store for them. The only suitable locale for such an act was the city of Jerusalem itself. The prophet could hardly be a sign to an absent audience. Some have made a great deal of the word for brick, as meaning an unbaked brick such as Babylonians often used for the drawing of plans. The deducation is then made that Ezekiel shows a Babylonian environment. Such a deduction is unwarranted, for a brick could be used for the same purpose in Jerusalem.

The second symbolic act $4^{4-6,8}$

In this act Ezekiel represents the punishment of Israel and Judah in the form of exile. In this passage the House of Israel refers to the Northern Kingdom as distinct from the Southern. The same distinction is made in 37^{16}; elsewhere in Ezekiel the phrase House of Israel means the nation as a whole. Of the passage 37^{16} J. Battersby Harford says "The use in xxvii 16 is in what is probably an insertion

by a later hand and even then the M.T. reading is doubtful."[1] The careful study of the meaning of the phrase "House of Israel" in the book of Ezekiel by Battersby Harford, makes us suspicious of the authenticity of any passage where the meaning does not refer to the nation as a whole. We are therefore disposed to regard these verses as a later interpolation.

The next difficulty in these verses occurs over the number of years involved. Three hundred and ninety days for Israel and forty days for Judah are given in the M.T., but the Septuagint reduces Israel's days to one hundred and ninety. These numbers present an insoluble riddle. We do not know what the editor meant by them. If they were to be taken as original, we cannot believe that Ezekiel would have performed this act for at least eight months.

This whole passage with the other references to the exile must be removed from this chapter, if we are to recover the work of Ezekiel. Verse 9^b must go and the passage 12-15 which introduces the idea of the Jews having to eat defiled bread in the land of exile.

The third symbolic act. $4^{10,11,16,17}$

These verses must be compared with 12^{17-20}. Both belong together. The passage in Chapter 12 would appear to be the more original, especially as in it there is no fusion of the siege of Jerusalem and the exile. It may be that Ezekiel himself wrote the two passages and that in Chapter 4 an exilic editor interpolated the verses 12-15. The two passages $4^{10,11,16,17}$ and 12^{17-20} deal with conditions in Jerusalem during the coming siege. They are appropriate only to a locale in Jerualsem. "Dort ist diese symbolische Handlung vorgeführt,

1. Studies in the Book of Ezekiel p. 32.

oder sie war belangloses Theater!"[1]

The fourth symbolic act $4^{9a,12-15}$

Cooke comments "What can it refer to? Obviously not to anything in verse 10,11; the nearest antecedent is the mixed food in verse 9"[2]. We may well claim this as a sparate act apart from the third symbolic act. It deals with exile and not with the scarcity of food during a siege. The unclean food is a curse of exile and has nought to do with any idea of food shortage in a beleagured city.

The fifth symbolic act 5^{1-4}

Here the prophet deals with the fate of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, after the fall of the city. The idea of shaving by the King of Assyria meant that he was wholly to uproot the inhabitants. Utter destruction awaited the people, one third burnt with fire, one third smitten down and one third, who at first escaped, would find the sword pursued them.

V2 contains the interpolation, "when the days of the siege are fulfilled." It breaks the account of the action. Having been at first in the margin, it may have been transferred to the text by a later copyist.

The utter destruction of vv1-2 is somewhat modified in vv 3-4a, and as we read v 12 we would expect some of the last third to survive. Hence though the prophet somewhat contradicts his picture of utter destruction, we would hold the verses as genuine. Hope was ever present in the voice of God's prophets.

5^{5-17} Is an exposition of the symbolic acts. Whether by Ezekiel

1. Herntrich. Ezechielprobleme p.84.
2. Cooke Ezekiel p.55.

or not it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was written years after the events recorded by the prophet himself.

Of these five symbolic acts, the first, the third, and the fifth are genuinely Ezekiel's. The third is a reproduction of the symbolic act described in 12^{17-20}, in which position it is original. The locale of the prophet in each of these three acts can only be Jerusalem. It would seem that the last symbolic act was performed when the besieging army was actually around the walls of the city. Herntrich[1] has suggested that the 'Sitz im Leben' of the other acts was at the time when the siege of the city was relieved by the approach of Pharaoh Apries. Then the inhabitants of Jerusalem were filled with hope, but the prophet knew otherwise and showed his hearers what a dread fate was in store for them.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 contains three sections 6^{1-7}, 6^{8-10}, 6^{11-14}. "It is clear that several hands have been at work on the present chapter. The original address can be followed in vv 1-4, and 13-14; vv 5-7 do little more than repeat what has just been said: vv 8-10 deal with the exiles abroad, not with the people at home; while vv 11 and 12 stand by themselves, a fierce comment on vv 1-4, 13f or vv 8-10, and no part of the address."[2]

6^{8-10} deal with the exile and with the idea of a remnant. They introduce a different subject and cannot be part of the passage 6^{1-7}, $6^{13,14}$. Whether they were the work of Ezekiel or not, it is difficult to say. They may have been written by him in his later life in Babylon.

1. Ibid p. 84.

2. Cooke ibid. p. 68

6^{11-12} are the record of a symbolic act which may have accompanied the condemnation of the oracle $6^{1-7,13,14}$. The observation we are concerned to make is that v 12 cannot suit any other locale than Jerusalem. It is absurd even to consider it as possibly spoken in Babylon.

The oracle vv 1-7, 13,14 is a fierce condemnation of the 'mountains of Israel'. He is condemning these high places as the contaminated sanctuaries of popular worship. Here with the cultus of the fertility cult the prophet's fellow countrymen were offering a worship supposedly to Jahveh. It was abhorrent to Him. The prophet therefore denounced unsparingly these shrines of popular religion. Although he makes no explicit reference to the reformation under Josiah 621 B.C., or to Deuteronomy 12, yet his ideas coincide with theirs. Had there been a reaction after the early death of Josiah at Megiddo 608 B.C.? We do not know, but as we said in an earlier chapter on the analogy of history it would seem probable. It is such a chapter as this, which fails to refer either to Josiah's reformation or to Deuteronomy 12 and yet advocates the same programme, that gives cogency to the idea of Torrey and James Smith that Ezekiel prophesied before either that reformation had occurred or the book appeared, and so place his prophetic activity in the reign of Manasseh. However before we accept Torrey or Smith's suggestion, we ought to remember that even though the high places were all destroyed by the reformation of Josiah, the love of them would remain in the hearts of the people and the cult priests remained with them.

This short oracle is most fitting as the agonized cry of a prophet who witnessed the undoing of all that Josiah had accomplished. There was no need for him to mention either Deuteronomy 12 or Josiah's reformation: the audience knew only too well what he meant. What the reformation of Josiah had failed to do, the armies of Babylon would accomplish. There can be no other locale for the prophet's impassioned cry than the city of Jerusalem itself.

Chapter 7

The text of this chapter is much mutilated. By a comparison with the Septuagint we find a different order of the verses. M.T.3-5 became in G vv 7-9 and M.T. 7-9 became in G vv 4-6, and v 3 in G is verse 6a of M.T. This shows early textual disturbance.

Next we should notice the reiteration of the same thought, 'the end is come, the time is come, the day is near, the day approaches.' These oracles repeat each the thought of the other: 7^{5-9} says over again the thought of 7^{2-4}, 7^{12-13} is a continuation of 7^{10-11}, while 7^{9} is an almost verbatim repetition of 7^{4}. Does such repetition involve a rejection of the passage? Certainly not! The situation is so suitable to the time of Ezekiel that there is no reason for denying authenticity to this chapter. The phrase in v.2 עַל־אַרְבַּע כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ which does not refer to the land, a single country, but to the whole earth, is an eschatological term. Ezekiel would see in the Fall of Jerusalem not merely the judgment of Israel but the near approach of the Day of Jahveh. Here he allies himself to all prophetic thought which proclaims the impending Day of Jahveh in the present historical crisis. We may compare this to the thought of Amos. We

cannot remove the eschatological emphasis from Ezekiel because it is basic for an understanding of his message of doom.

As these oracles are eschatological it is difficult to date them. They may have been written during a serious crisis, or not. We can say however that they must have been written before the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The centre of the world catastrophe was to be Jerusalem. The words are addressed to the men of Jerusalem and Judah, hence the locale of the prophet appears without question to be Palestine.

Chapters 8-11

Chapters 8-11 form a unity, to which several additions have been made. At once we recognize 11^{14-21} as a later insertion. Its opening and closing indicate that it is a separate oracle. It refers to a people scattered among the nations (v 16), not to a captivity in one place. The whole passage seems very late, even though in thought it comes close to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah (Ez. 11^{19} c.f. Jeremiah $24^{7}, 31^{33}, 32^{39}$) It is certainly not pre-exilic and could be spoken in any place. In v16 the sanctuary in other countries seems to me to be a reference to the later synagogues, which sprang up among the Jews of the dispersion, as a compensation for their inability to worship in Jerusalem and to make possible their continued loyalty to Jahveh. It contradicts Ezekiel's position in 20^{40} where he would maintain the law of the single sanctuary in Jerusalem.

11^{1-13} does not belong to the former Chapters 8-10. Perhaps it was joined to them because its scene is also laid in the temple at Jerusalem. This is the very significant passage on the death of

Pelatiah . vv 8-9 which contain a reference to Riblah[1] must have been written later than the fall of Jerusalem. We may see in them the work of Ezekiel in his later years, when he perhaps thought that some of his earlier predictions had been more specific than they actually were.

Cooke's comment on this passage shows the difficulties the present interpretation of it involves. "It is to be remembered that everything happened in vision. The prophet was shown the leaders plotting together; still in his trance he felt himself moved to prophesy; he saw Pelatiah fall down dead; startled and dismayed he cried for mercy - all in vision. The narrative gives us to understand that the death of Pelatiah in Jerusalem occurred at the very moment when Ez, in Babylonia saw it happen, and that the vision was confirmed when the news of the event arrived later on."[2] Has Cooke not missed the point that Pelatiah died because he heard the words of Ezekiel prophesying? More than second sight is needed to accept the idea that Cooke upholds. How could Pelatiah hear Ezekiel's words if Ezekiel was in Babylon? Could Ezekiel 'materialize' when on his journey in the Spirit and deliver his message? We have not yet come to believe this possible. If Pelatiah died when hearing Ezekiel preach, they were both in the same place, that is, Jerusalem. There cannot be any other possible locale for Ezekiel here than Palestine, in fact than in the very temple in Jerusalem itself.

11^{22-25} have nothing to do with the preceding verses of the chapter but are a continuation on from 10^{19}.

1. 2 Kings 25^{18-21}
2. Cooke Ibid. p. 123

10^{8-18} This passage is borrowed from the vision of the Glory of Jahveh which is in our present chapter 1. It has been suggested that it was a separate account preserved because it contained certain additional features. Rather it would appear to be the work of an editor who used Chapter 1 in a free and careless manner. As the first verse of this chapter interrupts the connection of 9^{11} and 10^{2}, it should be regarded as an editorial addition belonging to verses 3-18.

10^{4-6} V 4 repeats what has already been said in 9^{3}, namely that the Glory of Jahveh had left the cherub and was at the threshold of the Lord's house. V6 merely repeats v 2, and v 5 may be compared to 1^{24}, although 1^{24} borrows the name of God as Shaddai from this later editor, because Shaddai as a name for God was not used by Ezekiel.[1]

10^{20-22} This again is an addition but it may well come from the prophet himself, in his desire to connect the departure of the Glory of Jahveh from the temple described here, to the return of that same Glory which is described in our present Chapter 1 which ought to form part of Chapter 43.

11^{24-25} These verses are the work of the editor who tried to make Ezekiel merely a prophet to the Babylonian Golah.

The description of the Temple and its idolatries, the punishment thereof and the final departure of the Glory of Jahveh are described in 8-9, $10^{2,3,7,18-19}$, 11^{22-23} with an appendix 11^{1-13} the description of another scene in the temple. We have shown that 11^{1-13} the account of the death of Pelatiah was an actual occurrence transformed into a vision by a later editor. The same editor transformed Ezekiel's

1. Cooke ibid. p. 115

account of the idolatries in the temple into a vision too. This editor is responsible for 8^{3-4}. This v 3 is largely a repetition of v 5 and contains the word "seat" or יושב which the translators of G did not translate. The image is also in a different place in the two verses. Cooke[1] suggests that v 3 was a marginal note to v 5b.

In 8^{6} May[2] proposes a textual emendation from קנאה to קנאי . This would contain the idea of the worshippers forcing Jahveh to depart by the magic of their ceremonial ritual. Support for such an idea can be found in v 12 where Jahveh complains that the men having forced Him to depart comfort themselves in their wickedness 'The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the earth'. He would also suggest the emendation in v 14 of מבכים (sat) to מבכות a name for sacred prostitutes of Tammuz.

The description of the worship in the temple of Jerusalem in Chapters 8 and 9 is an account of the worship of the Babylonian god Tammuz, who is only in this one place mentioned by name in the Old Testament, and also of sun worship, or the ritual of Shamash. V10 mentions that the walls of the temple had figures engraved upon them. The Josianic reformation in 2 Kings 23^{4-14} does not make any reference to such things. Under the very recent regime of Zedekiah, they had been revived. After 597 B. C. the people turned to Babylonian worship, when they believed God had failed them. Sun worship was very ancient, and Assyrian worship had been introduced by Ahaz and Manasseh, but evidently not to the extent that Ezekiel mentions here.

Ezekiel's great description of the worship in the Temple and of the Glory of Jahveh is permeated by the ritual of Babylonian Tammuz

1. Ibid p. 92.
2. H. G. May. "The Departure of the Glory of Jahveh" J.B.L. Dec. 1937 p. 316.

worship. This worship received a great impetus in Jerusalem after 597 B. C., and Ezekiel describes the temple service as an eye-witness. The vision of Chapter 1 and here of the Glory of Jahveh is not a stupendous piece of ecstatic fancy but based upon Babylonian ritual. It involves the claim that Jahveh is the reality for with Tammuz worship stands. It predicts that the temple will be destroyed and the Glory of Jahveh will depart from Jerusalem.

Where was Ezekiel when 'the elders of Judah' came to him? Was he in Jerusalem or did he see the temple worship by second sight? If by 'second sight', it is a stranger form of second sight than men otherwise know. His words and the meaning of his "vision"(?) apply to the people in Jerusalem. Did he hurl his invective against an absent audience or was he a prophet fearlessly declaring the word of God to those to whom it applied? The conclusion is again forced upon us that if Ezekiel was a prophet, he was in Jerusalem.

Chapter 12

This chapter naturally divides itself into four sections (1) vv. 1-16,(2) v. 17-20, (3) vv.21-25 and (4) v. 26-28.

12[1-16] Herein is an acted parable of the impending catastrophe, a prophecy of exile. Cooke describes this passage as " an acted prophecy of the exile, referring primarily to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, but adapted later to the fate of Zedekiah." When Ezekiel later came to write down the account of his prophecy, "what he had represented as happening to the people could at applied to Zedekiah too, and he made such changes in his narrative as were required to bring out its full significance."[1] Such an account of the passage is

1. Ibid p. 129

most reasonable. The symbolic act was performed in public before 588 B. C. Its purpose was to make an impression on the 'rebellious house' in the midst of which the prophet was dwelling. v 11 'I am a sign to you: as I have done so shall it be done to them; into exile, into captivity, shall they go.' This verse would suggest that Ezekiel was writing in Babylon. The G supports M. T. in reading 'to them', but the Syriac Text gives the original reading 'to you.'[1] A symbolic act must refer to the people before whom it was performed. This symbolic act refers to the end of Jerusalem not merely to a further deportation of some of its citizens. When he performed this act the prophet was in Jerusalem.

Bertholet[2] asks the interesting question, "Did Ezekiel stay in the other place to which he removed his goods?" He makes the suggestion that this other place was a nearby village in Palestine, where Ezekeil remained to continue his prophetic activity until he departed to Babylon as a voluntary exile in the year after the fall of the city. He would offer this as an explanation of the passage 24^{25ff} and 33^{21}. It would seem difficult to accept the idea that another place in a symbolic act would mean necessarily a village outside Jerusalem. However Bertholet maintains that Ezekiel remained in Palestine. If it were necessary for Ezekiel to go to another place, to make the symbolic act really represent what was to occur, would he not have to go to foreign soil?

1. Compare Herntrich p. 98 2. Hesekiel 1936 p. 45.

12^{17-20}. This symbolic action represents the hardships of the siege of Jerusalem in a way somewhat similar to 4^{9-16}. There is no need to think that this is another account of the same act. There the destruction is to come upon Jerusalem, here upon the whole of Judah until "her land be desolate from all that is therein." The locale must be Palestine.

12^{21-25} The prophet answers a proverb that was current at the time and answers it. In v 22 על אדמת ישראל cannot mean "concerning Israel" for the proverb does not concern the land but was a proverb "in the land." This verse would make the prophet present in the land of Israel. Here, as in the passage 12^{26-28}, the situation is the same. The prophet answers the people who would discredit his prediction of doom because of its delay, with the certain word that the day of the Lord is at hand.

Chapter 13

"As it stands, the passage is full of inconsistencies, which are best explained by supposing, with Rothstein that two distinct orades have been combined."[1] The task is to separate the oracles.

13^{10} would indicate that Jerusalem is still standing, while $13^{5,6}$ indicate that the city has been taken. At times the prophets are addressed in the second person $13^{2,5,7,8,12-16}$, while at other times they are spoken to in the third person $13^{3,6,9}$,. However the G text alters this in it verse 5 has the third person.

13^{14} Herrmann[2] sees a clear reference to the walls of Jerusalem. The prophets have built up a false hope depending for

1. Cooke ibid. p. 137
2. Commentary p. 85.

protection on the protective walls of the city. חֲנֻכָּתָהּ in construction refers to קִיר which however is masculine, in sense refers to the city. The phrase would seem to be a gloss, but one identifying the walls as the city walls of Jerusalem.

The oracle against the prophetesses divides into two verse 18a, 22,23 and 13^{18b-21}. At the end of 13^{21} there is the customary prophetic formula for the end of an oracle. This oracle 13^{18b-21} must be the interpolation.

The content of the prophecy here would indicate Jerusalem as the scene of the prophet's activity in the oracles that suggest the city's destruction in the future. Babylon may well be the scene of his oracles after the Fall of Jerusalem. Perhaps the confusion reaches back to Ezekiel himself who wrote the oracles down for the first time in his later years in Babylon. If the chapter belongs to Ezekiel this may well be the case. Hölscher[1] however would reject this confused chapter as being wholly unauthentic. The chapter is characterised by unquestioned Aramaisms and words of late Hebrew.[2]

The chapter appears to be very late in its present form. On the whole it seems better to regard it as the literary product of a later

1. Hölscher p. 85.
2. Kautzch Die Aramaismen in A.T. Halle 1902 p. 44-45.
   √ חפר is the PIEL OF חפר and is used only in late Hebrew - this is the first time it occurs. √ נצל is an Aramaic form equivalent to the Hebrew, הִצִּיל. It occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament only in post-exilic books, Esther 1^{22}, Daniel 10^{21}, Ezra 2^{62}(Neh. 7^{64}) Ezra 4^{7}, 1 Chr. 28^{19}, 2 Chr.2^{10}, 35^{4}. The feminine form נִצָּלָה occurs also in Lev. 19^{18}, √ טמא → טָמֵא
   This verb is an Aramaic form of the Hebrew טָמֵא : טָפַל is connected with the Akkad ṭapalu - be smeared : טְפֵלָה (partition) is a word known only in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in Aramaic.

age,which goes back to a few authentic notes of two oracles of Ezekiel. The prophets condemned are those of Jerusalem, and the chapter records the scorn of a later age for the false prophets of hope in the years preceding the fall of the city.

Chapter 14

The first section of this chapter 14^{1-11} is a continuation of the previous chapter. Here the prophet condemns the people who have begun to trust in idols. Then he utters a condemnation of both the people and thier false prophets. It would hardly seem possible that men who had turned to idolatry in exile would approach Ezekiel. The exiles who forgot Jahveh turned away altogether to their conquerors. If the elders came it would be in Jerusalem, We must notice that they are mentioned also in 8^{1} and 20^{1}, and in each case the verse would appear to be editorial. 14^{4} can be omitted as it is a mere repetitinn of 14^{7} without the mention of 'the stranger which sojourneth in Israel', a phrase which certainly means that the oracles was spoken in Palestine. It is quite inappropriate in Babylon. 14^{9-11} appears to be an appendix, reminiscent of the teaching of Chapter 13 and 33^{1-10}. The close of the oracle is indicated by the last clause of 14^{8} "and ye shall know that I am the Lord." The strange idea of the false prophet himself being deceived is explained in the story of Micaiah 1 Kings 22^{19ff} The hand of this Deuteronomic Editor[1]is seen also in 36^{28}; $37^{23,27}$,$34^{30,31}$.

The whole section 12^{21}-14^{11} contains genuine oracles of the prophet Ezekiel, some early, some late. They have received their present form from the hand of an editor, who is influenced considerably by the

1. Herntrich p. 100.

Deuteronomic school. The notes only belonged to the prophet, the editor wrote these chapters.

14^{12-23} This passage states first a general principle in four striking ways, then gives it a particular application. The general principle is that when God visits the sins of a guilty people upon it, the presence therein of righteous men shall avail only for the salvation of those men, themselves. This principle is stated four times, perhaps in accordance with Jeremiah 15^{2ff}. This fourfold idea is contained also in Levitieus 26^{22-26}, and in Ezekiel 5^{17}. It would appear that it first occurred in Jeremiah. If Ezekiel borrowed, a pre-exilic date for these words is scarcely probable. The mention of "Danel", not Daniel, is also significant, we have already mentioned that the reference is to a god of wisdom of that name in early Babylonian mythology, a record of which has been found on the Ras Shamra tablets.

In his application of the principle, the prophet is not quite consistent. He allows that a remnant escape from Jerusalem, who shall be a sign to the exiles that God was just in His dealings with Jerusalem. Most commentators are agreed that when this passage was written, Jerusalem had already fallen. The passage is evidently written in Babylon and if after the Fall of Jerusalem then by Ezekiel himself.

Chapter 15

This short oracle describes Jerusalem as a worthless vine fit only for fuel. Other prophets, Isaiah, Hosea and Jeremiah, had

compared Israel to a vine, but to a cultivated vine. Ezekiel in contradiction compares Jerusalem to a wild vine. The vine was the most obvious symbol of Canaanitish culture, hence when Ezekiel, who was a strenuous opponent of Canaanitish influence, compares Jerusalem to a vine he may be indicting her religious syncretism. The oracle belongs to the period before 586 B.C., and if Ezekiel was a prophet it was spoken in Jerusalem.

Chapter 16

This chapter is divided into three distinct sections. (1) 1-43, (2) 44-58, (3) 59-63. The first section deals with Israel as an unfaithful wife, the second is the allegory of the two sisters and the third is the expression of hope for the future.

The first section 16^{1-43} is itself in two parts: 3-14 a poem, 15-43 application of its message. Jerusalem is pictured as the unfaithful wife of Jahveh. There is nothing new in the allegory, but Ezekiel applies it in a way all his own. Other prophets had seen in the wilderness period of old a time when Israel was faithful to Jahveh, but Ezekiel declares Jerusalem unfaithful from the start.

Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan;
Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother an Hittite. v^3

Is this a reference to the non-Hebrew origin of the tribe of Judah? Was Ezekiel without hope?

16^3says, "Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem" after in v 2 the prophet has been bidden to make Jerusalem aware of her evil. There can be no other locale for the prophet but Jerusalem when he spoke this fierce oracle of denunciation. As yet the judgment of Jahveh

tarried, therefore the passage belongs to the period just preceding 586 B. C.

The second section 16^{44-58} is most obscure. The meaning seems to be that the sin of Jerusalem has been worse than that of either of her sisters, Sodom and Samaria: and in the day of restoration Jerusalem will be further humiliated when her scorned sisters are restored before her. If this extract is authentic, then it was written after Jerusalem was taken because before that Ezekiel had no message of restoration. But how can the idea of restoration here be reconciled with Chapter 37 where the restoration will include the two kingdoms, or with Chapter 47-48 where all the tribes enjoy restoration together. One sees in 16^{44-58} the interpolation of a strange hand.

16^{59-63} carry the idea of the sisters further, they will become the daughters of Jerusalem who in shame shall know the mercy of God, when He will renew His covenant forever. These verses may have been written by Ezekiel in exile. From 16^{61} may have originated the allegory of the two sisters in 16^{44-58} although the redactor there expresses an idea contrary to the idea of this passage.

16^{44-58} are all exilic and can hardly be the work of the prophet himself.

Chapter 17

This chapter consists of a parable 17^{1-10}, its explanation 17^{11-21} and a messianic addition 17^{22-24}.

The parable is almost self-explanatory. So true to known historical events is the parable that it can be dated 588 B. C. The year of

Zedekiah's rebellion when he had sent to Egypt for help, is indicated in 17^{17}. The text here is extremely corrupt, but even without mention of Egypt, Zedekiah's falseness by breaking his covenant with the Babylonian king, dates the oracle for us. Its locale is Jerusalem, it has no concern with the exiled community with Jehoiachin in Babylon.

17^{22-24} This particularist and severely Jewish messianic hope is quite in accord with the thought of Ezekiel. The role of the Davidic king is replaced by the "prince" in the later part of the book of Ezekiel. Whether this would preclude this passage from being authentic is not certain. Whether Ezekiel wrote these verses or not, they are exilic.

Chapter 18

This chapter might be characterised as theological reflections on the justice of God. The prophet begins by quoting a familiar proverb. This proverb the prophet contradicts, asserting that God is perfectly just and will reward each man according to his own deserts. Yet God does not desire to punish. If men repent, God in mercy will grant forgiveness and life. The soul that sinneth it shall die, the soul that repenteth it shall live.

18^{26-29} seem to be a repetition of 18^{21-25}, they may either be omitted or else thought of as a later correction by the prophet, In other cases we have the same duplication of passages, and they would seem to be corrections at a later time of the original writer.

The teaching of this chapter in a measure contradicts Ezekiel's position in Chapter 16,20,23 where he condemns all Israel to punishment,

21^{3-4} where the righteous are condemned equally with the wicked and 7^{10-27}, 9^{5-10} where no escape from the day of wrath is thought of. There are suggestions elsewhere however that a remnant shall escape to be a sign to the exiles. Here the prophet is maintaining his conviction that God will deal justly with men. He does not think the matter out, and as a piece of systematic thinking this chapter is of little value. But the prophet stated that God was just and man could be confident even though appearances were to the contrary.

Obviously the prophet is dealing with an actual situation. He is speaking to a crisis. The people were somewhat cynical, regarding the present distress as the result of the sins of their fathers. Ezekiel is careful to assert that God does not punish the children for the fathers' sins but each man for his own sin. There is a measure of truth on each side. But Ezekiel was concerned to arouse the men of his own day to repentance, hence he had to insist on the side that he expounds in this chapter. A further study of the same difficulty is found in Chapter 33^{10-20}.

Jeremiah 31^{29} quotes the same proverb. He deals with the vindication of the justice of God as an eschatological hope, but Ezekiel says that the justice of God is to be a present reality in his own generation.

The crisis, to which this message is spoken, is in the years before the fall of the city in 586 B.C. The proverb was spoken in Jerusalem as Jeremiah clearly says - even Ezekiel 18^{2} says it concerns Israel, hence it would appear that its locale in Jerusalem.

Chapter 19

Two dirges over the princes of Israel constitute this chapter. One of these is an authentic poem of Ezekiel's 19^{2-9}: but the other 19^{10ff} does not belong to this context. Such is the judgment of Hölscher[1], who reconstructs the original poem in regular Kinah metre. The meaning is obvious: the lioness is Judah and her whelps Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin.

In the second poem the figure is changed. Judah is a vine. Jahn considered this a second poem by Ezekiel, but Hölscher rejects it as contrary to the thought of that prophet.

We cannot see any indications of the place where the genuine oracle 19^{2-9} was written. It is suitable either in Babylon or Jerusalem.

Chapter 20

Here the prophet recounts the history of Israel to show how in each period the Jews had been unfaithful to the covenant, yet had been spared by the mercy of God. The present generation is no less unfaithful and is to be punished, yet the righteous will be restored in the end to their own country. The chapter is arranged in an ordered plan. The choice of Israel by God is mentioned and connected with the escape from Egypt. After that Israel was faithless in Egypt 20^{5-9}, she was rebellious in the wilderness 20^{10-14}, she was perverse both in the wilderness and in the land of Canaan 20^{15-26}, she is idolatrous in the present 20^{30-32}. Now she is to go into the wilderness again 20^{33-39} to be judged, and in the end the people shall return and Israel be restored 20^{40-44}.

1. Ibid p. 105.

In M. T. the chapter ends at 20^{44} and the rest belongs to Chapter 21.

There is a strong Deuteronomic flavour in this account of the history of Israel. 20^{40} contains the Deuteronomic idea concerning Jerusalem as the only valid place for sacrifice. Its language is extremely Deuteronomic as is the language of the whole chapter.

20^{29-32} suggest that the conditions referred to are those of Palestine. In 20^{31} the prophet mentions the practice of child sacrifice as continuing 'even unto this day;' This has nothing to do with the exiles. After 20^{33} the idea changes, there is the promise of return from exile and a restoration of the worship of the Jerusalem sanctuary. In their present form 20^{33-44} are exillic, but it is not impossible for Ezekiel to have added this section afterward in exile. The thoughts are his, the plan is his; this passage prepares the way for Ezekiel's great plan of reconstruction Chapters 40-48.

20^{27-29} are an interpolation. They interrupt the chapter and make reference to the history of Israel's entrance into Canaan, whereas verse 23 had already implied that the Jews were settled there.

We would therefore conclude that 20^{1-44} although the background of the first part is Palestine was written by Ezekiel in exile in its present form.

Chapter 21 (English Bible 20^{45} - 21^{32})

Herrmann[1] divides this chapter into four oracles as follows: (1) 21^{1-12} Jerusalem will be destroyed as a forest is by fire and

1. Commentary p. 131.

the sword of Jahveh will be unsheathed to complete the destruction.

(2) 21^{13-22} The song of Jahveh's sword.

(3) 21^{23-32} The wielder of Jahveh's sword, the king of Babylon, will take the road at the cross-roads which leads to Judah.

(4) 21^{33-37} The sword of Ammon.

The text of this chapter is so bad especially in the second and third oracles, that we cannot always obtain the sequence of thought. The song of the sword is so textually corrupt that its restoration may well be considered hopeless. Hölscher's reconstruction while a fine achievement, cannot be considered more than probable.

The situation in the first oracle is before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar in 586 B. C. The picture of catastrophe as a fire in the forest is not new; Isaiah and Jeremiah had used it, and we find it again in Psalm 85^{15}. The prophet 21^{2} ($E20^{46}$) is commanded to look and to prophecy against the Negeb - he could only do so in Palestine. As Herntrich[1] says the Negeb is the customary description of the steppes of southern Palestine.

The situation in the third oracle is at a point when the king of Babylon is on his way, and is about to come to the place where the road to Ammon and Jerusalem divide. It is the crisis of 588 B.C. that is behind this oracle, and the prophet's words are relevant to Jerusalem in a way they are not relevant in Babylon.

The fourth oracle is so obviously not genuine that it need not be discussed. The prophecy of Ezekiel against Ammon is 25^{1-7}.

1. Ibid p. 104-105.

The authentic section of the Chapter 21^{1-32} is only given its true Sitz im Leben, when we see it as the message of a prophet in the midst of the crisis in Jerusalem at the approach of the King of Babylon in 588 B.C. Here is no cool calculation from a distance, but the agonised cry of a man in the midst of the fray.

Chapter 22

Three literary unities constitute this chapter, which is an indictment of Jerusalem for her sins. The three sections are

(1) 22^{1-16} a catalogue of the crimes of the corrupt city and its impending fate.

(2) 22^{17-22} the punishment of Jerusalem likened to the smelting of ore in a furnace.

22^{21-22} refer to something else namely silver and appear to be an addition by a redactor to emphasize the message.

(3) 22^{23-31} a description of the sins of the various classes of society.

In the first two sections Jerusalem is still standing. That is true also of the first part of the third section, but the fall of the city is at hand. However in $22^{30,31}$ the city has already fallen. These two verses must be a later addition, whether by Ezekiel or not it is difficult to say. Perhaps the whole of the third section was added in Babylon by the prophet himself. This section is thoroughly Ezekielan in language, but lacks the force of the other two sections. Cooke thinks that it "perhaps comes from a later hand than Ezekiel."[1]

The whole chapter is spoken to Jerusalem and her citizens. God commanded the prophet to shew the city her sins. Would such an indictment be spoken to the exiles in Babylon? The only way to think

1. Ibid p. 240.

of this chapter as prophetic is to recognize that Ezekiel in Jerusalem was speaking to the crisis of history in which his hearers stood.

Chapter 23

This chapter is connected with Chapter 16 and like that chapter is scarcely a unity. For our purpose there is no indication of the locale of the writer. Either Jerusalem or Babylon would suit as the place where this chapter was written. On the whole it appears to be the work of a redactor, although Hölscher[1] reconstructs one of the genuine poems of Ezekiel from the text. Behind the very corrupt text of this chapter there may be a genuine poem of Ezekiel's but where it was written is not evident.

Chapter 24

We divide this chapter into three parts. 24^{1-14} The parable of the rusted pot, delivered on the day that Nebuchadrezzar began the siege of Jerusalem; 24^{15-24} The death of the prophet's wife, which is a sign to the people and 24^{25-27} the redactor's exilic addition.

24^{1-14} A poem can be identified in these verses, in spite of their textual confusion. The meaning of the poem is clear. A pot is set on a fire, and in it flesh is boiled. When meat is boiled the scum rises and is removed. But Jerusalem is like a pot in which the scum remains. The fire under the pot is then so heated that the pot is melted and all is consumed. This is a parable of Jerusalem which shall be utterly consumed because of her iniquities. Whether the prophet only spoke this parable, or whether it was a symbolic action is not clear. He had performed a somewhat similar symbolic

1. Ibid p. 120-125

act two years earlier i.e. 588 B. C. according to Chapter 4. However here we incline to think that the poem was a parable spoken to the prophet's hearers.

Ezekiel according to the text is in Babylon. How could he there know the date on which the siege began? "Either Ezekiel was a deliberate deceiver or he was possessed of some kind of second sight."[1] To Hölscher neither of these alternatives is possible. He says that Ezekiel in Babylon would not know the day on which the siege began - hence the date is the work of a redactor.[2] The exact dating of an oracle is unusual in Hebrew prophecy, but that does not prove that therefore Ezekiel did not date his oracles so concretely. He may be the grand exception. That Ezekiel afterwards obtained the date from those who escaped the destruction of the city, and calculated back to find it coincided with the date of his wife's death and hence was able to place it in his oracle is scarcely even credible. Cooke would accept the explanation of second sight. " As a rule it was a message of doom or of restoration which Ez. received in his moments of prophetic ecstasy, but now and again he was permitted to see actual events taking place..... it is much more naturally explained as an instance of Ez.'s peculiar faculty for seeing remote events happening before his eyes, e.g. $8^{11,16}$[3] Can the idea of second sight such as this be accepted? Not by any modern psychologist. Either Ezekiel was present at the siege and knew the date, or else it was inserted later.

1.Lofthouse, The Prophet of Reconstruction. p. 202.
2.Hölscher op. cit. p. 126
3.Cooke op. cit. p. 265-6.

The message of these verses is for the inhabitants of Jerusalem. If the parable was spoken to any other audience than the inhabitants of Jerusalem, then it is not in its own Sitz im Leben. The prophet knew the day on which the siege began, because he was in Jerusalem and spoke this parable relevantly to the crisis in which the people were.

24^{15-24} Here we have the story of the death of Ezekiel's wife. So troubled is the situation that Ezekiel is not to observe the usual customs of mourning. In this he is to be a sign to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that when the city falls they will be too stunned to grieve. How could Ezekiel be a sign unless he were in Jerusalem? No other locale is possible here.

24^{25-27} These are editorial comments from the same hand as wrote 3^{22-27}.

Chapters 25-32

These chapters contain the prophecies against foreign nations. They supply no information on the question of our special interest, namely the locale of the prophet. Their origin could quite easily be Babylon as Jerusalem. That is only natural. An examination of these chapters in detail would take us far astray from our purpose, hence they will be dealt with only summarily.

This section of the Book of Ezekiel is a bridge between the earlier section 1-24, where Ezekiel was a prophet of doom, to the third section where Ezekiel after the Fall of Jerusalem became a prophet of weal. Commentators are agreed that this section serves a definite purpose in this way in the plan of the whole book. Whether

this plan is the work of Ezekiel or a redactor is not certain.

Hölscher[1] accepts the underlying poetry of the chapters which describe the fate of Tyre and Egypt as the genuine word of Ezekiel. This has been worked over in our present chapters by a redactor who has made the introduction 26^{1-6} to the prophecy against Tyre and with it constructed the four short oracles against Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines, later the one against Sidon to make up the perfect number seven.

Herntrich[2] declares that the whole section is spurious. He claims that if we compare Chapters 1-24 with 25-32, we notice a marked difference. The prophecies of the section 1-24 pulse with the breath of life and are written by a man who is in controversy with his own fellow countrymen. In the section 25-32 we have poems, where the main interest is in their form and content and a poet who writes skilful verses concerning the fate of Tyre and Egypt.

The difference that Herntrich mentions is certainly there, but it does not prove that Ezekiel could not have been the author of both sections. In the first section it was his own fellow-citizens in Jerusalem, to whom he spoke; he could afford to be more objective and detached, when he thought of the fate of his country's foes, and not of the fate of his own people with whom his own fate was bound up.

Chapter 33

This chapter contains five sections (1) 1-9, an oracle in which the prophet is appointed a watchman for Israel (2) 10-20, a second

1. op. cit. p. 132-134
2. op. cit. p. 110.

oracle in which the principle of divine justice already asserted in Chapter 18 is repeated, (3) 21-22 The arrival in Babylon of the fugitive from Jerusalem after its fall, (4) 23-29 an oracle against those who have survived in Judah after the fall of the city, (5) 30-33 an oracle addressed to those who had heard the prophetic message.

The place of this chapter in the plan of the Book of Ezekiel is often said to be an introduction to the prophecies of hope and expectation that are contained in the following chapters. It may be a transition chapter, but it is no introduction to the message of hope. The first section is reminiscent of the passage 3:16-21, in fact the editor composed that section from this one. The oracle in Chapter 33 is original. But Ezekiel had since his call acted as a watchman for the people of Jerusalem; the oracle looks backwards. The prophet had clearly warned the people, but they had paid no attention to his prophetic utterances. As he saw the awaited catastrophe surely coming upon the people, he may well have wondered if he had done all that God required of him. This oracle comes with the divine declaration, that the watchman can only warn, it is the people's part to give heed. The oracle is more for the prophet himself than for the people. Its locale is Jerusalem immediately before the final catastrophe. vv10-20 are repeated from Chapter 18 perhaps to vindicate the divine Justice in the final days of the city's struggle.

33:21-22 This section "though its contents are so important, seems to be introduced almost as a parenthesis."[1] Here Cooke whose section

1. Cooke; op. cit. p. 363.

is vv. 21-29 calls attention to the fact, that the commencement of the section breaks the thread of the chapter. One other difficulty is that if we accept the date here given in the Massoretic Text, it took one year and a half for news of the Fall of Jerusalem to reach Babylon. There is manuscript evidence that twelfth might be eleventh - so S and certain Hebrew and Greek manuscripts, which would reduce the time to six months. This however hardly helps; we cannot believe that so important an event as the Fall of Jerusalem was not reported in Babylon for at least six months.

Bertholet[1] says that these verses are intimately connected with 24^{26}, but there the fugitive reaches Ezekiel near Jerusalem on the day on which the city fell. Hence he declares the date in this present chapter spurious, and would omit from "in the evening" to"in the morning." The text of the two verses would then read, "Then the fugitive from Jerusalem came to me with the news, The City is fallen. And the hand of Jahveh came upon me and my mouth was opened and I was no more dumb." However the redactor inserted words which made it seem that Ezekiel by divine revelation knew of the fate of the city the evening before. This knowledge made him dumb with apprehension, a dumbness which disappeared as soon as the fugitive confirmed the catastrophe.

If the dumbness of the prophet had lasted as is usually supposed from the time of 3^{26} to the time indicated here, how could Ezekiel think that he had been a watchman to Israel. The people deserved their fate because they had not harkened to the prophet's message. Well may we regard the dumbness as unauthentic, and regard these two verses as editorial.

1. op. cit. p. 116-117

33^{23-29} A new oracle begins here. Taking up a saying current among the survivors in the Land of Judah, the prophet addresses an oracle of reproof to these. He foretells further ruin. How did the prophet know this saying? Did the fugitive tell him? Did he imagine it? or did he learn it in trance? Any such explanation will not suit. The prophet knew it because he heard it with his own ears, and flung back to those who spoke it, the divine reply. Cooke, awake to the difficulty of believing the prophet to be in Babylon, comments, "It must be remembered that we are dealing with a highly imaginative temperament. In thought, we may suppose, he is at home again among the survivors of the catastrophe."[1] But what if our imaginations cannot run to such extremes. Rather we will think of the prophet, where he was, in Judea.

33^{30-33} Here the prophet utters a warning against those who had heard, but not obeyed his voice. It is the 'swan song' of the prophet of doom in Judea. Henceforth we listen to the voice of hope, as the prophet in Babylon looks to the future.

Chapter 34

A new note sounds in the Book of Ezekiel from this point. After the punishment of Israel shall come its restoration. In this chapter the prophet 34^{1-16} states that the sheep will no longer be misguided by the false shepherds of the past, but Jahveh himself will be their shepherd.

At 34^{17} the thought changes. The oracle now speaks of bad sheep in the flock. This change in thought, Cooke[2] says, is accompanied by

1.op. cit. p. 367
2.op. cit. p. 376

a change in style and so he regards the rest of the chapter as later expansion of this oracle. With this judgment we are inclined to agree. The later writers certainly had in mind the words of Jeremiah 25^{1-6}.

We can offer no decisive suggestion for the locale of this prophecy. We are inclined to see the prophet now as the companion of the exiles.

Chapter 35

The denunciation of Edom in this chapter comes as a surprise in this section of the Book of Ezekiel. Yet the historical situation behind such a denunciation is relevant to the position of Judah after the fall of Jerusalem. If the Hebrew people were to return from exile and establish themselves securely in Palestine in their weakened condition then Edom must be powerless to oppress them. Hence this chapter may well belong to the "weal" prophecies of Ezekiel. Its genuineness is not very firmly established, but if it is genuine the most suitable place for it to be spoken was to the exiles in Babylon.

Chapter 36

This chapter is in two parts, first vv 1-15 where the mountains of Israel are promised a new fruitfulness, second vv. 16-38 where the people are promised restoration.

36^{1-15} reminds us of Chapter 6 where Ezekiel in earlier days had attacked the religious rites practised upon the mountains of Israel. Now, in contrast, Ezekiel promises that the mountains of Israel will again be peopled and that after their deliverance from the heathen Jahveh will make them abound in fertility. This section, with the formula 'Thus saith the Lord Jahveh', repeated six times in 36^{2-7} has very

obviously been lengthened, but it is now impossible to recover the original text of Ezekiel.

Hölscher[1] who regards this passage as the work of a redactor based on Chapter 6, estimates $36^{1-2,4abc, 6b\beta,7}$ as the original text. This original text spoke of the scorn of the surrounding peoples when the mountains of Israel were laid waste by the enemy, and contrasted the future glory of those same mountains of Israel with the desolation in store for the neighbouring lands. It was not only Edom who would suffer desolation. For this reason Hölscher regards Chapter 35 as a secondary interpolation. His estimate of the original text of 36^{1-7} may be as correct as we can get, though we do not follow him in his further position.

36^{13-15} with their paucity of thought and change of metaphor are usually regarded as a later addition. Their importance is in any case negligible.

In the second part of this chapter vv. 16-32 must be taken as the original text, expanded by two later passages v. 33-36 and v. 37-38. The idea of the cities of the restored land in 36^{35} is in opposition to the statement of 38^{11} where the cities of the future are said to be "unwalled."

The genuine passage 36^{16-32} contains a statement of the theology od Ezekiel, based clearly upon the teaching of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. The whole statement is so conventional that its authenticity appears questionable. While we cannot say that there is any definite locale for the prophet in this chapter, it would be most suitable as preached in exile in Babylon.

1. op. cit. p. 172-173.

Chapter 37

Chapter 37 is to be divided into two sections. The first 37^{1-14} contains the vision of the valley of dry bones, and the second 37^{15-28} is a prophecy of the union of the two kingdoms in the future restoration.

Hölscher[1] denies the authenticity of the first section for a number of reasons. He says that the terminology used is that of the Redactor, so clearly that it is superfluous to prove it point for point. The scene is the same as that of another redactional passage 3^{22ff} namely "the plain". If this vision is compared with the genuine visions of Chapters 1 and 8 it is easily recognised as an artificial literary production. He would call our attention to the fact that the explanation of the vision 37^{11-14} does not correspond with the vision itself. In 37^{1-10} there is no mention of the bones rising from the grave. In spite of this we see no reason why the authorship of this section should be denied to Ezekiel. 37^{12-14} may be a subsequent expansion of the meaning of the vision which had been formerly given in a short form v. 11. Such is the suggestion of Herntrich.[2]

The Sitz im Leben of this vision is without a doubt the exile, it is a message of encouragement to the downcast in Babylon. Here the true prophet speaks, showing that God's last word is not judgment, but that beyond His judgment there is hope for those who are purified in affliction.

1. op. cit. p. 174-175.
2. op. cit. p. 117

The second section 37^{15-28}, with its prophecy of the future unity and restoration of the two kingdoms, is written in the spirit of Ezekiel, if not by him. If it is genuine, then it was without a doubt written in exile by the prophet.

Chapters 38 and 39

These two chapters form an Apocalypse almost certainly not from the hand of Ezekiel. Even if they were by Ezekiel they give no information concerning the locale in which they were written; all we know is that they must be dated later than the exile.

Chapters 40 - 48

In the preceding chapters Ezekiel has given voice to prophecies of hope for the future of his fellow countrymen when they are restored to their own land. In this, the last section of his book, he gives instructions for the establishment of religion in the restored community. The priest who had been called to the prophetic office, resumed his task as a priest. This is not impossible nor even as improbable as many have considered. It is to the priest that we owe the preservation in the scriptures of the words of prophecy - should not a prophet in exile instruct the future community in the details of a purified cultus.

Though we accept these chapters as the work of Ezekiel, we are well aware that there are many interpolations. The ideas of Ezekiel were expanded by his disciples and legislation introduced at a later time. Cooke[1] accepts as genuine "40-42,43, and 44 in part 40^{19-24}, 47^{1-12}". These, he says can easily be distinguished, and form the climax of the whole Book. These chapters are spoken to an exilic audience, hence the locale of the prophet in them is in exile.

1. op.cit. p. 426.

Chapter III

The Aramaic Influence in the Hebrew of Ezekiel and its Bearing on the Locale of the Prophet

In discussing such a question as the Aramaic influence upon the Hebrew of the book of Ezekiel, it is well for us to bear in mind two propositions which will help us to avoid a hasty decision, where evidence cannot be decisive. First, some forms we may find could be survivals from antiquity brought into more common use by familiarity with Aramaic.[1] Secondly, we possess only a small portion of Hebrew literature, hence many ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, which are now only intelligible to us through cognate words in Semitic languages, may have been true Hebrew words of which we would know the meaning in Hebrew if we only possessed more Hebrew literature. It will therefore be no easy task at times to determine whether a word is borrowed from Aramaic of whether a form is an Aramaism or a survival.

Selle[2] published a short monograph on the Aramaisms of the book of Ezekiel many years ago. This monograph has not received very wide recognition. It has been enthusiastically championed by Torrey[3], however, and merits an examination. Selle finds many traces of Aramaic influence, but subsequent research would indicate that many of the words he attributed to Aramaic influence are really from Akkadian. Certainly Kautzsch[4] writing some years later, finds less evidence of Aramaic than Selle.

Chapter 1

v. 14 אִיֶּלֶת

Selle (p.46) would describe this as an Aramaic form of the more

1. See Cooke Ezekiel p. 237.
2. Selle De Aramaismis Libri Ezechielis. Halle 1890.
3. Pseudo-Ezekiel p. 86.
4. Kautzsch Die Aramaismen im A.T.. Halle. 1902.

usual קלה . For this there seems little justification: Gesenius[1] suggests that וצאו is distorted from יצאו and adds יצא . This makes the text, והחיות יצאו ושוב, "and the living creatures went to and fro and returned."

פרק

This word occurs in Syriac, and its origin can be sought there. The idea of emending the word to ברק is suggested, however, by its occurrence at the end of v. 13. Smith[2] regards this emendation as without any justification. A defense of the use of פרק here is attempted by Cohen[3], but is vitiated by his failure to see that the use of the word to mean "lightning" originates in this passage.

Both these words occur in a verse which though present in M.T. is absent from G. This would arouse suspicion against its authenticity, a suspicion confirmed by these linguistic difficulties.

v. 22 קרח

Kautzsch[4] suggests that we have Aramaic influence. The word is used only in Ezekiel, P., Ps. 19[2],150[1] and Du 12[3]. Its meaning implies extension, to do so it ought to be derived from the Pi'el. It is however a Q al form and in the Q al its root meaning is to stamp upon, or to make firm. The idea ought to be one of solidity. However

1. Gesenius Hebrew Grammar. Kautzsch translated by A.E.Cowley. Oxford 1910 p. 343 n.2.
2. op. cit. p. 102.
3. A.J.S.L. "Studies in Hebrew Lexiography" Vol 40. p. 165.
4. op. cit. p. 110.

the Phoenician word [1] "metal plating", may have influenced the Hebrew Q al form so that it had a similar meaning. We can only say that the influence here suggested is possible.

Chapter 2

v. 6

This word is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον ,"probably an Aramaic loan word."[2] The root is not found in Hebrew, but is found in the Mishica, Torg. Syriaca. Here it's root meaning is "contradict." Some translations have regarded the form here as a participle, but it has no subject before it and Hebrew idiom requires one in such a construction. It must therefore be a noun, and the customary translations "briers" may well be correct.

(also 28^{24}) The root[3] of this word is unknown in Hebrew, but in the Targums and the Talmud "thorn" is known. The word here is connected therewith. Herrmann[4] says that the original text of this verse was much shorter, and omits the phrase containing these words in his reconstruction. The second word however remains in 28^{24}.

Chapter 4

v.2 tower.

(also 17^{17}, 21^{27}, 26^{8}) The word also occurs Jer. 52^{4} and 2 K 25^{1}, but there the meaning is "rampart". In Rabbinic literature the word has the meaning "tower", which is the meaning required here. Selle[5]

1. Cooke N.S.I. p. 75.
2. B.D.B. p. 709.
3. B.D.B. p. 699.
4. op. cit. p. 5.
5. op. cit. p. 42.

would therefore derive the word from the Aramaic root נטר "to look out, watch". But Brown, Driver, and Briggs[1] regard the root as unknown. The form here would seem to be an Aramaic participle of the verb Selle suggests as its root.

v. 9. כסמת millet.

Here is another ἅπαξ λεγόμενον . The meaning is made definite from Arabic and the Aramaic Targum. In the Targum Num 15[19] we have the form אכסמתא and in modern Hebrew כוסמת . The Aramaic derivation of this word is therefore possible.

Chapter 5

v.1. גלב barber.

This word is undoubtedly connected with the Aramaic verb גלב "to shave" Hebrew elsewhere in Old Testament גלח .

In Phoenecia מגלבים were attached to the temples, we have mention of them in Phoenecian inscriptions,[2] in a document of the fourth century B. C. Another such inscription[3] seems to use the word as a proper name. If this is the origin of the word, then it is not an Aramaic borrowing which would necessarily be of a late date. There appears to be no need to accept the suggested textual emendation of Toy[4] to מגלחים .

Chapter 7

v. 7 הדהר

(Also v.10) The word is found in Isaiah 28[5] where it is "crowning glory" or "splendour". There Aramaic אדר means "dawn". hence our

1. B.D.B. p. 189
2. Cooke N.S.I. p. 67.
3. Ibid p. 78.
4. Toy Hebrew Text of Ezekiel p. 48.

word may mean the splendour of the dawn, which gives us the "morning" of the A. V. The derivation is doubtful, but the Aramaic influence on the meaning of the word is apparent.

v. 25 גַּרְגְּרֹתָיִךְ

The same root occurs in Isaiah 38[12], meaning "to roll up" and suggests the meaning here. There would seem to be no need for any emendation such as Herrmann[1] suggests גַּרְגְּרֹתַיִךְ "longing for home." The word is not unique as Selle would suggest, and there seems to be no need of an Aramaic origin.

Chapter 8

v.2 נֹגַהּ brightness[2]

It does not seem possible for this word not to be derived from the Aramaic נְהוֹרָא ; compare Daniel 12[3].

Chapter 9

v. 2. קַסְּתוֹת inkhorn (also v. 3,11)

"The derivation of קַ from the Egyptian is due to D. H. Müller; the old explanation of קַסְּתוֹת = קַשְׁתוֹת has been given up."[3] The Egyptian word Gst - " a scribe's palette."

Chapter 12

v. 14 כְּנָפַיִם wings

(Also 17[21], 38[9,22], 39[4]) This loan word is from the Akkadian agappu - "wing". The aramaic form is אַגְפָּא , אַגְפַּיָּא . Such a loan word in the Jarusalem oracles of Ezekiel is unlikely, unless they were worked over by the prophet years afterwards in the land of

1. op. cit. p. 48
2. B.D.B. p. 264.
3. Cooke. op.cit. p. 109.

exile, or by some later hand.

Chapter 13

v.9 גזרין

The Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew גזרים. It is found elsewhere in late books, Esther 1^{22}, Dn. 10^{21}, Ezra 2^{62},4^{7}, 1 Chr. 23^{19}, 2 Chr. 2^{10}, 35^{4}.

v. 10 מגרה

Otherwise in Hebrew מגרה and in Aramaic מגרא . Hence this is an Aramaic form.

חיץ

This word is unknown in classical Hebrew. In Palestinian Aramaic חיצא , means "partition" or "screen". Here the meaning seems to be a thin partition. Baer-Delitzch[1] connects the word with Akkadian ḫiṣu .

טפל (Also v. 11,14,15 and 22^{28})

The word here has been wrongly connected with הטפלה טפל of Job 1^{22},6^{6},24^{12} and Lamentations 2^{14}, where the meaning is "to be insipid." The word used in Ezekiel comes from an Aramaic, טפלא "plaster."

v. 19 מחללי either from חלל or the Talmudic חללא

v. 20 פרח

The usual Hebrew meaning is "to sprout", but in this verse the word has the Aramaic meaning of "to fly". Bertholet[2] however questions the translation "wie Geflügel", and regards the meaning as uncertain.

1. Ezechiel p. xi-xii
2. op.cit. p. 48

The phrase is not represented in G and the verse is considerably different.

v. 22 כאה

This word occurs also in Dan 11^{30}, Ps. 109^{16}, Job 30^{8} - this however is the only occurrence of the Hiphil. Bertholet[1] would emend the word to הַכְאִיבוּ to correspond to the verb which follows הַכְצִבוּתִיו.

This chapter certainly shows evidence of a late date. As we have already rejected its authenticity, our judgment is confirmed by its language. Though it contains many Aramaisms it does not give us data concerning the language of the prophet himself.

Chapter 16

v. 30

The translation of the opening clause "How weak is Thine heart" is false. לבה as feminine of לב does not occur. Cooke[2] suggests that the true meaning may be found through Aramaic. Quoting passages from Cowley's Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century B.C. he translates the present clause "How am I filled with wrath against thee?" This makes good sense of the passage.

שלטת

Perhaps the word is influenced by the Arabic salitat - "loud tongued woman". By derivation it is "imperious"(f).

In Gen 42^{6} we have שליט used as a technical name for Joseph in Egypt. This name, used by the ancient writer probably J, has the

1. Ibid p. 48
2. op. cit. p. 171-173.

appearance of a foreign loan word. The writer used a foreign loan word in order to give the impression of Joseph's importance, even though in Joseph's day that word was not used in Egypt.[1] The word is used in a similar technical sense in Eccles. 8^{8}.

Here we may take it that the feminine form is also an Aramaic loan word, used as an obscene technical term.

The G has completely misunderatood the M.T.

v. 40 סקל "to stone" (Also 23^{47})

This word is found only in H. Lev. $20^{2,27}$, $24^{14,16,23}$; P. Numbers 14^{10}, 15^{35f}, Josh. 7^{25}, 2 Chr. 10^{18}, 24^{21}. The more usual word is replaced in these late books by this word which is thus possibly an Aramaic loan word.

v. 57 נאץ to "treat with contempt".

In the Qal and participles certain ע"ו verbs have א as a vowel letter." That the participle here is such is proved by the Aramaic נטל "hold in contempt".

This form also occurs in $28^{24,26}$. The noun form occurs in 25^{6} pointed נאצי . But in 25^{15}, 36^{5} the pointing is נאצי which shows that the א was mistaken for a vowel letter.

This root is used only by Ezekiel and is possibly an Aramaism.[3]

Chapter 17

v2 חידה "riddle". Occurs also in E Numbers 12^{8}, Judges 14^{12-19} 1 Kings 10^{1}, H at 2^{6} etc.

This word may be a borrowing, but if so it was borrowed before the exile as the T attests it would otherwise be ת .[4]

1. Kautzsch op. cit. p. 89.
2. Gesenius Kautzsch. op. cit. p. 198 note p.
3. B.D.B. p. 1002
4. Kautzsch op. cit. p. 31

v. 4 קטף "pluck off." Also v. 22 Deut. 23^{26}, Job 30^{4}

This word often occurs in Targums and Talmud, whence its meaning in Old Testament is found.[1] Perhaps an Aramaic loan word.

v. 6 ענפות "branches" (Also v. 7, 19^{11}, $31^{7,9,12}$) Jeremiah 11^{16}

The word is however often found in Aramaic and Rabbinic usage.[2] It may very probably be an Aramaic loan word.

v. 7 נכן - some Mss. give הכין.

Perhaps derived from כון "to bend" or from the Aramaic קום "to arise". Of the two possibilities we can choose either.

v. 9 נצר "sprout"

Here not the Hebrew meaning of "robber" or "nourishment" is required, but the meaning of the Aramaic שרשא נצרא "root".

v. 17 קרוע see 4^{2}.

v. 21 מגזרת see 12^{14}

Here then in this chapter we have some evidence of Aramaic influence.

Chapter 18

v. 2 קהה "grow dim"

The Hebrew root is כהה here influenced by the Aramaic root קהא found in the Targums and Talmud.

The root is found also in Jer. $31^{29,30}$, Eccles 10^{10}.

v. 7 חוב "debt".

This word is not repeated in the passages v. 12 and 16, but is translated in the versions. Only here does it occur in the Old

1. Selle op. cit. p. 46.
2. Ibid p. 42.

Testament though in Mishna it is used for "debt". This meaning suits the context here.

חֲבָלָה v. 12, 16 חֶבֶל Pledge.

From the Akkadian ḥabullu - "debt" or ḥabûlu this word appears to have come into Hebrew, with the meaning of "pledge".[1]

Chapter 19

v. 8 פְּחָוָה "province".

The same Hebrew root is found in 1 K 20[14-19] but as that chapter has been much edited we cannot depend on the occurrence of the root there to prove its Hebrew origin. Even in our present verse Herrmann[2] claims that the text is uncertain. The word hoever if it is original to the text is "an Aramaic word."[3]

v. 11 תַּרְגְּמָן see 17[6]

Chapter 20

v. 27 אָהֳלָיו

Sellc[4] suggests Aramaic influence, but without any proof. The word occurs elsewhere in Numbers, Isaiah, Psalms hence we need not think it of necessity a loan word.

v. 28 קְרָבָן

Perhaps this word is borrowed directly from Assyrio-Babylonian. It occurs also in 40[43] and in P. The phrase in which it occurs here is not found in G.

1. Gesenius Thesaurus Vol I p. 438.
2. op. cit. p. 115
3. B. D. B. p. 193
4. op. cit. p. 41.

Chapter 21

v. 3 יגע

The verb here only. The noun occurs Lev. $13^{23,28}$, the adjective Prov. 16^{27}. In the Targum אתגע "burn" is found,[1] and explains the meaning here. The root however is common to several Semetic languages, and may be original to Hebrew.

שהבת

This is unquestionably an Aramaic form, the Shaph'el of "In the O.T., however שהבת is not necessarily an Aramaism, but a rare survival from antiquity, which Aramaic brought into common use."[2] "This conjugation is perhaps the original of Hiph'il in which case the ה by a phonetic change, which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant."[3]

v. 17 זרוע

By analogy with the Aramaic of Ezra 6^{12}, this use of the Q al here can be explained. A better explanation may be to emend to from the root זרע "to scatter."

v. 27 קרץ see 4^{2}.

v. 32 עקלקל "distortion".

Smith[4] believes this word to be an Aramaism, But the word is an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον - hence it is difficult to decide.

Chapter 22

v. 21 אסף "gather" (Also in 39^{28}, 44^{18})

Hölscher says the word show Aramaic influence. Bertholet[5] however

1. Selle op. cit. p. 45
2. Cooke op. cit. p. 237
3. Gesenius Kautzsch p. 153.
4. op. cit. p. 110
5. op. cit. p. 78

omits vv. 21-22 as doublets of the previous verses and hence not original to Ezekiel.

v. 28 see 13[10].

Chapter 23

v. 6 "chief."

This word occurs also in Jeremiah, Ezra, Nehemiah and in Aramaic e.g. Dan. 2[48],3[2], 6[3]. It is a loan word from the Akkadian Sakmu, the Hebrew in borrowed words at times represents Akkadian . The word is not an Aramaic borrowing as Selle suggests.

"viceroy"

This also is an Akkadian loan word from pahatu.

v. 40 "black antimony pigment."

Here is the only case of this root in the Old Testament. It is frequent however in Mishna, Talmud and Targums. The root is in both Aramaic and Arabic. It may therefore be an old Hebrew root also.

v. 47 see 16[40].

Chapter 24

v. 26

This is an infinitive Hiph'il construct in the Aramaic form.[1]

Chapter 25

v. 6 strike

The meaning[2] here with the singular following is "to strike the hand on something in order to make a noise like clapping." This is nearer to the Aramaic than to the Hebrew meaning which is to clap.

vv. 6, 15 see 16[57].

1. Gesenius Kautzsch op.cit. p. 146.
2. Kautzsch op. cit. p. 54-55.

Chapter 26

v. 5 מִכְמֹרֶת "a place for spreading". (also v. 14 and 47[10])

Although Selle[1] says that the sound of Aramaic is in this word the root is Hebrew, and it is in Arabic that we find the same word with the same meaning.

v. 8 קְרָח see 4[2].

v. 9 חֲרָךְ "stroke"

For the root see 25[6]. The root is evidently Hebrew.

קֶבֶל

From the Akkadian kablu, but the root is in Hebrew, and Aramaic also.

Cooke[2] mentions that it is interesting to notice that these two words also occur in juxtaposition in the Gilgamesh Epic XI 130.

Chapter 27

v. 9 also 27 and 29 מַלָּח "mariner"

In the Gilgamesh Epic XI the Akkadian word malahu is used for "mariner". Probably it came into Hebrew by way of Aramaic.[3]

v. 11 גַּמָּדִים Gammadims

Selle[4] attributes this word to Syriac borrowing.

v. 17 שֵׁשׁ "linen"

Aramaic name for Egyptian שש .

v 19 קְדֻחָה

In 2 Kings 12[6-13] this word refers to a building, here to a "ship. It comes from an Aramaic root.

1. op. cit. p. 42
2. op. cit. p. 295
3. Kautzsch p. 59
4. op. cit. p. 42.

v. 22 בשם "spice"

Comes from Akkadian basumu, but most likely through Aramaic.

v. 24 מנעלים mantles.

This word comes through Aramaic מנעל , perhaps ultimately from Akkadian.

It is interesting at once to notice that Chapter 27^{9b-25a} which we have found to be so full of Aramaisms has long been regarded as an insertion. Bertholet in his earlier commentary suspected it, Hölscher definitely rejected it because it broke the poetry of the Chapter. This suspicion and rejection is confirmed by the philology. These Aramaisms are not any contribution to the language study of the prophet Ezekiel himself.

Chapter 28

v. 3 סתם (also 31^{8} Lamentations 4^{1})

The Aramaic sense of the root does not suit the context here but especially 31^{8}. The meaning here is the one found along with the other in Arabic to bind together, hence to resemble and to equal. The grammatical difficulty of the verb in plural with a singular subject still remains.

v. 24, 26 סכיב see 16^{57}

מכאב see 2^{6}

Chapter 31

v. 8 סתם see 28^{3}

Chapter 32

v. 2 מרגז "trouble, make muddy". (also in v. 13)

Selle[1] attributes this word to Syriac, the same root is in Akkadian dalahu "trouble (water)" and in Aramaic.[2] We would therefore consider it an old Hebrew root.

1. Cooke op. cit. p. 306.

2. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century B.C. p. 216

Chapter 33

v. 15 חבם see 18^{12}

v. 30 חמ one

Not an Aramaism as Kautzsch[1] holds, but a gloss.

Chapter 34

v. 11,12 קפד "visit" (to punish)

This verb corresponds in the Targums as the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew word פקד . This is the meaning required here, not its more customary meaning "to seek."

Chapter 36

v. 5 משא see 16^{57}

Chapter 38

v. 12,13 קנין "Possessions."

This is the first occurrence of a word frequent in the Targums and the Talmud, replacing the good Hebrew word מקנה . Kautzsch[2] regards it as an Aramaism, but Noldecke disputes this.[3]

v. 20 מעלה Also Canticles 2^{14} - step, staircase.

Selle[4] would derive this word from a Syriac root עלה . This root is however found also in Arabic and Aramaic. It may then be also an Old Hebrew root.

Chapter 39

v. 9 חשקו

Kautzsch[5] maintains that the root is קשש , from which the ח

1. op. cit. p. 29.
2. op. cit. p. 77.
3. Cooke op. cit. p. 416.
4. p. 43.
5. op. cit. p. 68, 9

disappears, as it sometimes does. He equates the verb root then with the Aramaic קפד. Again Nöldeke doubts if this is correct.[1]

v. 11 מדם

Rather its Aramaic meaning here than Hebrew.

Chapters 38 and 39 are without doubt a late edition to the Book of Ezekiel and so do not have any bearing on the language of the prophet.

Chapter 40

v. 5 בנין "building".

The stem is Hebrew, but the form is Aramaic. The word occurs also $41^{12,15}$, $42^{1,5,10}$.

v. 17 לשכה "chamber"(attached to the temple) $40^{38,44-46}$, also $42^{1,4,5,7-13}$, 44^{19}, 45^{5}, 46^{19}, Jeremiah, Nehemiah, Samuel and Chronicles.

Selle[2] refers to the occurrence of לשכתא in Aramaic, and considers this the derivation of the word. But Brown, Driver and Briggs regard the meaning of the root is unknown.[3] It is very doubtful if the Aramaic word could be the derivation of our word here.

Chapter 43

v. 11. תכנית "fashinn"

The word is only here in O.T. though frequent in the Talmud, The text of this verse is so confused that ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in it must be received with suspicion.

v. 13 זרת "span"

The derivation from the Aramaic זרתא is questioned by Cooke[4] who

1. Cooke op. cit. p. 423.
2. op. cit. p. 43
3. B.D.B. p. 545.
4. op. cit. p. 43.

prefers an Egyptian origin ŠRT - the hollow hand.

v. 14 הַעֲרֻבָּה "enclosed space"

Root ערב bound in meaning to ערך and although in the Targums is more likely to come from Arabic.

Chapter 44

v. 30 רֵאשִׁית עֲרִסוֹתֵיכֶם also Numbers 15[20], Neh. 10[38].

The meaning of the word is uncertain, either it is "dough" or "coarse meal". The Aramaic עֲרִיסָה "porridge", the root is also in Syriac. Though Selle[1] holds the Aramaic origin as certain, we hold that the root may be an Old Hebrew one, surviving in the Old Testament only in this one word.

Chapter 47

v. 2 הַחֹתֶם

Another ἅπαξ λεγόμενον , related it is true to word in Mishna.

v. 10 מִפְרְשֵׂיהָ see 26[5]

The results of our study on the Aramaic influence up to this point, in the Book of Ezekiel are as follows. They are very tentative and very insecure in many ways and are in a measure disappointing. We have, omitting Chapter 13 and 27[9b-25a], allowed eighteen cases of Aramaic influence. In four of these cases we have ἅπαξ λεγόμενα In other words we have four cases where our refusal to recognize a native Hebrew word is due to the fact that we have no other mention of it in extant Hebrew literature, while the word does occur in Aramaic. Another fact about our eighteen cases is that in nine of them it is not

the root that is Aramaic, but either the form of the word or its meaning. In such cases we have no evidence of the date of the Aramaic influence. We come to the conclusion after our study of the loan words that the influence of Aramaic upon the language of Ezekiel is not very great. When we notice how much more the language of the two independently rejected passages, Chapters 13 and 27^{9b-25a}, is influenced by Aramaic the impression is gained that Ezekiel wrote at a time before the Aramaic influence was very strong. The evidence would point to a time before the return from exile.

Next we must make a brief examination of the grammar to see whether it shows any further traces of the influence of Aramaic. This influence can be seen in varied ways, but not to the extent that Selle claims in his book. Many of his assertions are questionable, e.g. קוּם for קוּץ in 6^{9},20^{43},36^{31} and דד for שד in $23^{3,8}$. Neither of these change of consonants is necessarily an influence of Aramaic. Brown, Driver and Briggs give the occurrences as parallel Hebrew forms. However עתר in place of the more usual עשר in 35^{13} is certainly due to Aramaic influence, as in also קְטֹרוֹת in 46^{22} for the usual קְצִרוֹת which itself appears in 42^{5}. It is true also in 27^{32} בְּנִיהֶם = בְּנֵיהֶם , but as the Hebrew sometimes disappears e.g. in בֵּם it is difficult to decide whether Aramaic influence is necessary here.

Selle[1] claims that סרעפותיו in 31^{5} the is inserted in סעפותיו as in Aramaic to ease the pronunciation. Cooke[2] giving as further Aramaic examples כרסא , דרגשיק and שרבבי .

1. op. cit. p. 17.
2. op. cit. p. 344.

This same verse contains an Aramaic feminine ending in גְּבוֹהָא, which is also noticed in 27^{31} קְרוֹחָא , 36^{5} כְּלָא and 41^{15} אִתּוֹקֵהָא.

Not only is the feminine ending thus present but the masculine plural ending in ־ִין is also seen 4^{9} חִשִּׁין (although חִשִּׁים occurs in 45^{13}) and 26^{18} אִיִּין.[1] Cooke[2] thinks that this latter case is due to the error of a copyist.

Dealing with pronouns Selle[3] mentions אַתְּ for אַתָּה in 28^{14}, אַתֵּן in 34^{31} and the ־וֹ in הַלְיוֹ in 36^{35} as among other instances of Aramaic influence. In the case of אַתְּ in 28^{14} we find that G and S took it for אַתָּה and C translates it אנת. Selle would hold that it is like אַתֵּ in 36^{13} and the final ־ has been dropped. Selle has grounds for his contention, which as he would hold is definite evidence of Aramaic influence. The form אַתֵּן occurs only in this place, and may be influenced by the Aramaic so that it has ֵ and not ֶ for its final vowel. Whether ־וֹ or ־וּ was the original of הִיא preserved for us in this strengthened form הַלְיוֹ is very difficult to say. Gesenius-Kautzsch[4] classes it only as a rare form, which occurs only in this place. Elsewhere it is found in the shortened form הַלְיָ.

Certain verbal forms are without a doubt influenced by the Aramaic. in 36^{5} there is the form הַגְזָלָה, which is an infinitive construct, formed by analogy with the pe'al infinitive construct in Aramaic. The verb however does not suit the meaning of this verse and in reality

1. Gesenius Jautzsch op. cit. p. 242.
2. op. cit. p. 295.
3. op. cit. p. 17-20
4. p. 110.

there may be need of emendation to the text. However verbforms influenced by the pa'el Aramaic[1] are to be found e. g. in וְקִבַּצְתִּיכֶם 22[4], וְקִבַּצְתִּי 34[12] וּבִקַּשְׁתִּי 35[12]. Many more such forms can be found. Our present text of Ezekiel shows a great deal of Aramaic influence on the grammar of the language.

As Aramaic influenced Hebrew from 800 B. C. onwards, it is difficult to draw any conclusion from what we have observed. We know that the influence of Aramaic was greatly accentuated by the exile and afterwards. How far Aramaic influenced Hebrew during the exile we cannot yet say. The book of Ezekiel shows definite Aramaic influence. The only case which demands a late date is the aph'el in 39[7] אַחֲלִיל as this form was a late Aramaic form. Charles[2] shows how the aph'el does not appear in Aramaic before 400 B.C. We have already recognised that Chapters 38-39 are much later than Ezekiel and so this occurrence if it is correct only confirms that judgment.

It is apparent that Ezekiel's Hebrew belongs to the stage when classical Hebrew was giving place under Aramaic influence to late Hebrew. Aramaic influence is strong, stronger in the later chapters of the book than the earlier, and certainly stronger in some of the passages e.g. Chapters 13 and 27[9b-25a] which on other grounds we have judged as later interpolations. Perhaps the strength of the Aramaic influence may help us to come to a decision in regard to passages that appear to have been interpolated throughout the whole book. A study

1. Gesenius Kautzsch. p. 233.
2. Commentary on Daniel. Oxford 1929 p. XC.

of the language seems to yield the result that the earlier chapters, which we have shown describe a Jerusalem ministry, are less influenced in their language by Aramaic, than are the later chapters the first draft of which was written in Babylon. The earlier chapters were no doubt worked over by the prophet in his later days, some of the added explanations may be due to this, as also some of the Aramaism may be. We may then claim that the language of Ezekiel points to the conclusion at which we have arrived, namely that Ezekiel prophesied first in Jerusalem then afterwards in Babylon. He worked over the collection of his prophetic utterances there in his old age, and perhaps left to another the task of editing them into a book. To this editor belongs the idea that Ezekiel prophesied only in Babylon. Later many interpolations were added especially in Chapters 40-48.

Chapter IV

The Prophet Ezekiel

The definite task of the foregoing chapters has been to determine, as far as is possible, the locale of the prophet Ezekiel when he delivered his oracles. The ordinary view of Ezekiel was that the call to be a prophet came to him on Babylonian soil and that he performed the prophetic function to the exiles in Babylon. Although there have always been some who criticised this prevailing viewpoint, it is only in the present century that such criticism has met with anything like a sympathetic hearing. Herrmann published his epoch making book in 1924. He proved that Ezekiel had been edited and that some of the editing was done subsequent to the time of Ezekiel. Hölscher followed, and rescued from the present test some of the genuine poetic oracles of the prophet. He made two assumptions, that Ezekiel wrote only poetry and prophesied only doom. These two assumptions we showed were unacceptable. The position of Buttenwieser that Ezekiel was not of the company of the great prophets but a priestly legislator, we also considered as false to the facts of the book. These three writers all accepted the locale of Ezekiel's prophetic activity as Babylon.

Torrey and James Smith working independently, one in America, the other in Scotland, both came to the conclusion that in Chapters 1-24, the locale of the prophet was Palestine. While we were unwilling to follow Torrey in his attempt to prove the book of Ezekiel a late pseudepigraph, we regard his insistence on the fact that the situation in Chapter 1-24 required a Jerusalem locale as correct. James Smith's idea of Ezekiel as a prophet of the Northern Kingdom also proved unacceptable. Shalmm Spiegel who wrote in criticism of Torrey acknowledged

that we must take more seriously the Jewish tradition that Ezekiel received his call in Palestine.

Herntrich and Berry adopted the position that our present book of Ezekiel should be divided into two books 1-39, 40-48. The former book was the book of the genuine Ezekiel who was a prophet in Jerusalem between 597 and 586 B. C. The rejection of the genuineness of 40-48, at least the nucleus thereof, we regarded as a mistake, but the Jerusalem locale of the major portion of 1-39 as certain. The point, that if the prophet was to be a sign to people they must be his audience is an argument conclusive against the idea that the oracles of Ezekiel were "Fernsprüche". Eissfeldt and Cooke returned to the former position that Ezekiel was a Babylonian prophet. Eissfeldt relied too much on the dates of the book, while Cooke's psychology was lamentable. The last study of Ezekiel so far published was by Bertholet. He accepted the Jerusalem locale of Ezekiel in the first part of the book and suggested that he went to Babylon to continue his work as prophet the year after the fall of Jerusalem. This date he obtains by altering thirty to thirteen in 1^{1}. Such an alteration we could not accept, nor did we think it necessary to hold that Ezekiel left Jerusalem to carry out one of his symbolic acts.

A study of the dates in 1^{1-3} suggests that there are here the dates of two different events. An editor has displaced 1^{1} and the vision 1^{4}-2^{2} from its correct place in Chapter 43. His plan was to make Ezekiel only a prophet of the Babylonian exiles. The idea of dumbness 3^{22-27}, 24^{25-27} and 33^{21-22}, is introduced by this editor

in these few verses. He is also responsible for the visionary voyages of the prophet. Ezekiel himself was called to be a prophet in Jerusalem 1^{2-3}, 2^{3}-3^{9}. In Jerusalem he prophesied and delivered the oracles that are in the book of Ezekiel

$4^{1-3,7}$ $4^{10,11,16,17}$

5^{1-4}

$6^{1-4, 11-12, 13-14}$

7

8--9

$10^{2-3, 7, 18-19}$ 11^{22-23}

11^{1-13}

$12^{1-16, 17-20, 21-28}$

13 (notes only)

14^{1-11}

15

16^{1-43}

17^{1-21}

18

21^{1-32}

22 (Omit v. 30-31)

24^{1-24}

$33^{1-21, 23-29}$

Whether more of the oracles in 1-33 were delivered in Jerusalem we cannot tell definitely. The foreign oracles are suitable either to a locale in Jerusalem or Babylon. However in Chapter 34 there is a

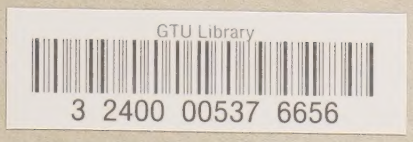
transition, and from there on the locale is the exile in Babylon.

A study of the language of the book of Ezekiel shows that in the genuine passages of Ezekiel the Aramaic influence is not as strong as in some of the interpolated passages. The language of Ezekiel proper shows Aramaic influence but no more than would be required by the accepted date of the prophet's writing. The sections that belong to the Jerusalem ministry of Ezekiel show on the whole a smaller degree of Aramaic influence than the authentic passages which describe his Babylonian activity.

The prophet Ezekiel comes before us as a prophet in Jerusalem. He received his call to the prophetic office in the fifth year of the captivity of King Jehoiachin. From that time until the fall of Jerusalem Ezekiel was both in himself and in his oracles a warning to the people of Jerusalem of the impending destruction of the city. When the city fell in 586 B.C. Ezekiel was carried captive in Babylon. There by the banks of the River Chebar he experienced a great vision, which inspired him to be a prophet of hope to his fellow exiles. This vision now in Chapter 1 belongs to Chapter 43. Ezekiel brought up to be a priest, but chosen of Jahveh for the prophetic office, saw the need of his nation for a purified cultus, when once more they should inhabit Jerusalem and rebuild the temple. Hence the genuine sections of the book of Ezekiel in Chapters 40-48 for a climax to the book. Here an old man who himself would not live to see the day, left his plan for the future temple in the day of the restoration of his people to their own land.

From the picture of the prophet Ezekiel all the strange psychological phenomona have been removed by our analysis and reconstruction. This would appear to be all to the good. Ezekiel stands forth in his true character as one of the very great among the prophets of Israel.

07



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